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GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING

Professor of Greek Emeritus
at Ohio State University

and a member of The American Oriental Society

for sixty-five years

ON THE OCCASION

OF HIS NINETIETH BIRTHDAY

CHINESE HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS: THE ROAD AHEAD

PAUL B. DENLINGER
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

IT IS JUST AS TRUE of history as it is of science that the vast items of information in the field do not constitute knowledge until some form of organization is imposed upon them. Histories of the same country and of the same period differ according to the organizational frame into which these facts are assembled. Because different generations of different cultures prefer differing organizational frames, the re-writing of history never ceases. Becker[1] opened up new insights and visions in this area, and a whole new field of intellectual history began to grow. Others, more as philosophers than historians, turned to the problem of "the interpretation of history" and "the meaning of history," and a whole new nexus of courses came into being.

What has happened in history has also happened in science. Those who more or less exclusively devote their time and talent to the construction of theoretical frames into which the assorted data most readily fit are "theoretical scientists." They make manageable repositories of knowledge to which other scientists turn in their more mundane and practical tasks. Any argument as to which is better, theoretical or applied science, is a foolish waste of time. They are as complementary as *yin* and *yang*, neither can exist without the other.

Historical linguistics is both a history and a science. It takes a certain type of historical data and organizes it according to a linguistic frame of reference. In actual practice, both form and data have a reciprocal influence on each other; historical considerations influence the frame of reference, and the frame of reference most assuredly influences the selection of data. Historical linguistics differs from linguistics in that the introduction of dichronic data makes it necessary to think in terms of development and change.

From the point of view of the collection of data, Chinese historical linguistics is a lush, tropical field. China, unlike Egypt, Greece, or modern Europe, has an unbroken literate tradition of a probable four thousand years. When one compares this with a maximum of a thousand years apiece for Greek, Roman, and Byzantine culture, one begins to realize the richness and venerability of Chinese culture. The Chinese classics, the core of the written tradition, received their present form in the Han Dynasty. They, and the commentaries and sub-commentaries upon them, dominate two thousand years of respectful erudition. But this is just the lowest stage of raw materials. Chinese scholars have been analysing and processing this material since the time of Christ. One of the most important Chinese dictionaries, Hsü Shen's *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*, dates from 121 A.D. The study and comparison of the various editions and revisions of this book demand several volumes. The closest thing to this in modern times, the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, contains 72 Chinese volumes, in bulk about the size of the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*. No culture in the world begins to approach Chinese in the richness of its dictionary legacy.

Analysis of sounds, the very beginnnings of linguistics, began probably under Indian Buddhist influence in the first century. This influenced and blended with the dictionary tradition. The first major systemization of phonology dates from Lu Fa-yens' *Ch'ieh- yün* in 601 A.D. From this time on there is constant re-assembling, re-editing, and re-evaluation of the material, but it constitutes one corpus of material which we call "*Ch'ieh-yün* Chinese." It is one of the most important legacies in Chinese linguistics, and has been recognized as such for at least a thousand years. Sometimes this phonological material is given as pronunciations in dictionaries, sometimes it is classified in tables. The formulation that has been standard since 1008 is known as *Kuang-yün*.

Modern Western linguistics did little more than bring phonetic and phonemic transcriptions into a field already a thousand years old. Bernhard Karlgren, brilliant and industrious student of a Swedish dialectician, provided this "*Ch'ieh-yün* system," which he re-named "Ancient Chinese," with a consistent phonetic notation.[2] This pro-

[1] Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*, New Haven, 1932.

[2] Karlgren's studies begin with his thesis, *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (Leyden and Stockholm, 1915-26),

vided a powerful stimulus to continuing Chinese studies. Tung T'ung-ho, in his text on Chinese historical linguistics, has recently made many extremely important revisions and corrections in Karlgren's transcriptions.[3] Wang Li has done the same in more than one place.[4] In Europe, Guenther Wenck has spent a part of his ten year study of Japanese phonology on the same arduous task.[5] They have all succeeded in refining, harmonizing, and making more credible this collection of phonological data which we, following Karlgren, call "Ancient Chinese." The careful studies of these devoted scholars have, in my opinion, virtually reached their aim. Not much more in the way of refinement and correction can be done with "Ancient Chinese" as a system.[6] Most of them, including Karlgren himself, tacitly admit this when they turn to the reconstruction of an earlier period, which Karlgren terms "Archaic Chinese."

Significant contributions to the field are unlikely in any re-study of the "*Ch'ieh-yün*" legacy as a unit. But I, for one, am quite convinced that break-throughs and dramatic advances are probable if scholars will pay more critical attention to the presuppositions, the theoretical frame, on which these studies of "Ancient Chinese" are based.

What actually is "Ancient Chinese"? "Ancient Chinese" is the English equivalent of "*Ch'ieh-yün* Chinese." And what is "*Ch'ieh-yün* Chinese"? It is a systematic arrangement of Chinese language sounds, the careful creation of Chinese linguists for a four century span (from the seventh to the eleventh). This Chinese is related to most known Mandarin, Cantonese, and Wu dialects, and, less closely, to the Min or Fukien dialects. But what precisely is this Chinese? Karlgren asked this question, and then answered it. On the basis of known T'ang rhyme patterns and other linguistic data, it is the spoken language of Ch'ang-an in 601 A. D. More and more scholars are asking this same question, and viewing Karlgren's response with a jaundiced eye.

W. Grootaers was one of the first and the best to make a complete break with the "*Ch'ieh-yün*" tradition.[7] He was a dialectologist, a specialist in linguistic geography, suspicious by training and inclination of all written materials. He took with deep sincerity what has sometimes been for others simply a slogan: the spoken language is primary, the written language is secondary. "*Ch'ieh-yün* Chinese," a part of China's extensive literary tradition, is at best secondary and must be used with great caution.[8] Grootaers saw solid linguistic advance as dependent upon more careful and more systematic studies of primary materials, spoken Chinese dialects. He looked to linguistic geography to provide a linguistic atlas, the very first step.

P. Demiéville, who has read and reviewed most of Grootaer's studies, in an important article, "Archaismes de pronunciation en Chinois vulgaire"[9] which quoted Grootaers with approval, demonstrated the inadequacy of the "*Ch'ieh-yün* tradition" to explain the development of some of the most common words in modern Pekinese.

Modern linguists are increasingly dubious about this unidentified entity, "Ancient Chinese." Wang Li,[10] Wang Lien-tseng,[11] Samuel E. Martin,[12] and Hugh Stimson[13] have joined the growing group

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continue through his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, and culminate in his *Grammata Serica, BMFEA*, 12 (1940). Their newest revision appears in *Grammata Serica Recensa, BMFEA*, 29 (1957).

[3] Tung T'ung-ho, *Chung-kuo yü-yin-shih*, Taipei, 1953. See especially pp. 89-109 but also passim.

[4] Wang Li, *Han-yü yin-yün-hsüeh*, Peiping, 1956. See especially pages 175-268, but also passim. Wang Li, *Han-yü shih-kao*, vol. 1 (Phonology), Peiping, 1957.

[5] Guenther Wenck, *Japanische Phonetik* (Wiesbaden, vols. 1-2 [1954], vol. 3 [1957], vol. 4 [1959]). See especially vol. 3: *Die phonetik des Sinojapanische.*

[6] However, these corrections should all be incorporated into a new revision of *Grammata Serica Recensa* or *Kuang-yün sheng-hsi* for easy reference.

[7] See especially Willem A. Grootaers, "La géographie linguistique du chinois: Nécessité d'une nouvelle méthode pour l'étude linguistique du chinois," *Monumenta Serica*, 8 (1943), 103-166. But this is a consistent theme in all his articles.

[8] Most recently in "Linguistic geography of the Hsüan-hua region, Chahar province" in *Studies Presented to Chao Yüan-jen on his 65th Birthday* (*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 29 (1957), 59-86). Note especially chap. 5: What character would you write for the dragonfly?, and chap. 6: The birth of a fifth tone: the bat.

[9] *T'oung Pao*, 40 (1950), 1-59.

[10] Wang Li, *Han-yü shih-kao*, p. 49.

[11] Wang Lien-tseng, "Un dictionnaire phonologique des T'ang, le *Ts'ie Yun* corrigé complété de Wang Jen-hiu," *T'oung Pao*, 47 (1957), 51-150. See especially p. 144.

[12] Samuel E. Martin, *The Phonemes of Ancient Chinese.* Supplement to *JAOS*, 16 (1953). See p. 4.

[13] Hugh Stimson, *The Chung Yüan Yin Yun: A Study*

of doubters who publicly disclaim that Ancient Chinese is the language of Ch'ang-an of 601 A. D.

And so the question remains: what is "Ancient Chinese"? It is a problem of identification and of date. And it seems to me that unless some more satisfactory answer can be given, Grootaer's course, drastic as it is, must be accepted.

Chao Yin-t'ang in an important study of the Yüan Dynasty rhyme dictionary *Chung-yüan yin-yün*, first published in 1936 and re-published in 1956,[14] suggested a very important principle of organization. He said that the Chinese language from Yüan times to modern times could not be described in terms of a unilinear development. There are two varieties of Chinese that must be identified and distinguished in this span. The one, he called *ch'ü-yün p'ai* or "the school that uses the rhymes of a particular type of vernacular poetry called *ch'ü*," and the other *hsiao-hsüeh p'ai* or "the school of classical Chinese etymology." The rhyme dictionary he investigated belonged to the vernacular rhyme school. He called the language it contained "Ancient Mandarin." "Ancient Mandarin" was a spoken language, the language that the four greatest dramatists of Yüan times used on the Peiping stage. It differed from the dictionary forms of the classical etymology school. Chao invented this theoretical frame to save his phonetic reconstruction of the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* from the charge that it was just a part of China's classical etymology school. He simply wanted to make it clear that what he championed was a natural dialect, "Ancient Mandarin." But his theoretical frame has much broader implications.

In 1930, A. Dragunov, a Russian scholar, made a pioneering study of Yüan Dynasty Chinese as written in the hP'ags-pa alphabet.[15] This alphabet was invented by a Tibetan Buddhist monk as a means of writing all five languages in the vast Asiatic Empire the Mongols created.[16] Unfortunately the Chinese language the hP'ags-pa letters spelled out did not confirm Chao's picture of Yüan Chinese. Chinese scholars probably tended to view the script as unreliable, for they avoided reference to it in their studies. Neither Tung T'ung-ho nor Wang Li pay any attention to it in their text books on Chinese historical linguistics.

Quite recently some important new hP'ags-pa material has become available. In 1956 the Hungarian scholar L. Ligeti published "Le *Po kia sing* en écriture 'Phags-pa."[17] Just last year Sir Gerard Clauson was kind enough to make photographs of a very important Chinese rhyme dictionary with hP'ags-pa spellings available to me.[18] Less than a year later Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Ts'ai Mei-piao published a hand copy of this same dictionary as part of a convenient collection of hP'ags-pa material for new scholars.[19] These are all important new materials, and vastly increase our understanding of hP'ags-pa Chinese. I have used the *Meng-ku tzu-yün* in some of my studies, but it must be used with caution. Unfortunately it contains many errors in transcription which must be corrected before it is reliable for general use. At least one critical edition, and probably two, is in process of preparation.

Meng-ku tzu-yün was published in 1308; *Chung-yüan yin-yün* was published in 1324. They came from the same geographical area at approximately the same time; yet the language is strikingly different. The Chinese of *CYYY* has no voiced initials; but *MKTY* has voiced initials. *CYYY* states that the *ju-sheng* has been absorbed into the other four tones; *MKTY* keeps a *ju-sheng* separate. (But it does not end with a consonant -p, -t, or -k, but probably with a glottal stop.) *CYYY* has two registers in the level tone, *MKTY* has only one.

This would be a damning and discouraging prospect were it not for Chao Yin-t'ang's theoretical construct. Chao has cautioned us to

in an Early Mandarin Phonological System. Yale University Ph. D. Dissertation, 1959. See p. 9 and note 19.

[14] Chao Yin-t'ang, *Chung-yüan yin-yün yen-chiu*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1936.

[15] A. Dragunov, "The *h*Phags-pa Script and Ancient Mandarin," *Bulletin de l'Academie des Sciences de l'URSS, Classe des Humanités*, 1930, pp. 627-647 and 775-797. The first Chinese translation has just appeared, translated by Tang Yu and printed in Peiping, 1959.

[16] For the most recent discussions of the hP'ags-pa alphabet see Nicholas Poppe and John R. Krueger, *The Mongolian Monuments in hP'ags-pa Script* (Wiesbaden, 1957) and Gerard Clauson, "The *h*P'ags-pa Alphabet," *BSOAS*, 22 (1959), 300-323.

[17] *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, 6 (1956), 1-52.

[18] This is my first public opportunity to thank Sir Gerard for his kindness in arranging for photographs of the British Museum copy (which must be the only one in existence) to be sent to me. He has demonstrated that he is not only a scholar, but also a gentleman.

[19] Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Ts'ai Mei-piao, *hP'aks-pa Letters and Yüan Dynasty Chinese*, Peiping, 1959.

classify our material, and when we follow him the resolution is almost too good to be true. *CYYY* represents the *ch'ü-yün p'ai* of the Yüan Dynasty. *MKTY* is its foil, the *hsiao-hsüeh p'ai*. This means statements in historical phonology must become more precise. In Yüan times in the vernacular rhyme school (or in "Ancient Mandarin"), devoicing had occurred. In Yüan times in the classical etymology school devoicing had not occurred.

Curiously enough the same situation is repeated in Sino-Korean. Yang Lien-sheng has called to our attention two manuals of the spoken language of the Yüan Dynasty called *Lao Ch'i-ta yen-chieh* and *P'u T'ung-shih yen-chieh*.[20] *Lao Ch'i-ta* gives us two spellings in Korean letters for the sound of every Chinese character. These two spellings generally agree, but occasionally there are important differences. An appendix explains that the one spelling represents the "colloquial pronunciation" and the other the "standard pronunciation." The "standard pronunciation" is that of the *Ssu-sheng t'ung-k'ao*. The *Ssu-sheng t'ung-k'ao* is one of four rhyme dictionaries that King Sejong issued to try to impose a standard or correct pronunciation on his Korean subjects.[21]

King Sejong was the greatest of the Li kings. The Li dynasty was full of vigor and determination; it had just succeeded in driving out the Mongols and their vassals and setting up a Korean state. Their aim was a strong central government that could control the whole country. They used both political and cultural means to achieve this end. Among other things, King Sejong wanted a pronunciation that was uniform, and not too different from that of the Chinese Ming Dynasty, with which he cultivated good relations. The invention of the Korean alphabet, Hangul, was a part of this standardization. So was his founding of a school system culminating in a national college in the capital, the institution of civil service examinations, and the issuing of official rhyme dictionaries.

In the "standard pronunciation" de-voicing of initials had not occurred. In this respect it was like the equivalent Ming rhyme dictionary, *Hung-wu cheng-yün*. In the "standard pronunciation" the *ju-sheng* is marked by a final glottal stop. Neither of these things were true of the "colloquial pronunciation." Here for the second time we have linguistic data of equal reliability and of the same period which disagree. Here again we must avail ourselves of Chao Yin-t'ang's frame of reference: "standard" Chinese represents the classical etymology school. "Colloquial" Chinese, on the other hand, represents the "vernacular rhyme" foil, more closely related to the Mandarin of North China.

As a matter of fact, our Korean evidence permits us to modify and in a sense broaden Chao Yin-tang's frame of reference. *CYYY* and "colloquial" Sino-Korean representations represent not so much "vernacular rhyme forms" (which must be limited to Yüan North China), but more simply "colloquial linguistic traditions." Tun-huang materials, for instance, most probably contain such. *MKTY* and "standard" Sino-Korean represent, rather than just the "classical etymology" school, "standard" forms of the language, a part of Chinese classical traditions, but a part that is revised and re-defined in official rhyme books, issued under imperial auspices as part of the central government's effort to impose forms on the whole country.

Koreans under the strong Li Dynasty drew up and imposed a "standard" pronunciation which, unlike the "colloquial" pronunciation of the same period, but like "Ancient Chinese," had voiced initials. China under the strong Ming Dynasty and its vigorous ruler Ming T'ai-tsu (reign title Hung-wu), drew up an official dictionary to impose "standard" pronunciations on the whole country. This "standard" pronunciation had voiced initials, and a *ju-sheng*, and no fracture of the level tone into two registers. But China did not have just one strong dynasty trying to impose one "standard" language on the rest of the country. Before the Ming there was the Sung. Its official rhyme dictionary was the *Kuang-yün*.

Now we are in a position to return to our initial question: What is "Ancient Chinese"? "Ancient Chinese" is the "standard" language of the Sung Dynasty. It represents a re-edition and revision of Chinese classical phonology, standardized and

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[20] Yang Lien-sheng, "A Study of the Grammar and Vocabulary as found in *Lao Ch'i Ta* and *P'u T'ung Shih*, two Old Korean textbooks in Colloquial Chinese," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 29 (1957), 197-208.

[21] For specific details see Lee Sung-nyeung, "King Sejong's Policy in Language," *Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1 (Seoul, 1958), 29-83.

imposed on the whole country by a strong central government. Thus a "standard" language, and this is very important, is not a natural language in the same sense that modern Ta-t'ung dialect or even Ancient Mandarin is. It smells of oil and lamps, it relishes archaisms, it does violence to natural features in an effort to find an imposable unity. "Ancient Chinese" is most definitely not the language of Ch'ang-an in 601 A. D.

This makes the position that Grootaers and Demiéville have taken eminently sound. Grootaers champions modern dialects over written traditions because he wants to deal with natural languages and not semi-artificial constructs, which is what "standard" languages are. The "Ancient Chinese" which has exerted such a decisive influence in Chinese linguistics is, in the form we know it, essentially a Sung standardization. It is useful for historical purposes largely because it was made broad enough to include the natural dialect ancestors of most northern and central Chinese dialects.

Wang Li has written a very striking picture of how it was probably devised. The editors used synchronic distinctions to reveal dichronic patterns. (Much the same thing Karlgren did in reconstructing "Ancient Chinese," but without phonetic notation.) They would consult each other. Do you pronounce these characters alike or differently in your dialect? When they were different in any representative dialect, they made distinctions in "Ancient Chinese." When they found distinctions in ancient pronunciations, they would search until they found an equivalent distinction in a current dialect.[22] Thus "Ancient Chinese" had the maximum number of distinctions possible on the basis of the dialects consulted. And, as a corrollary, any one dialect of the same period would combine the initials of "Ancient Chinese" into a lesser number of initials. The same was true of rhyme, as the rhyme books and the rhymes of contemporary poets demonstrate. They created the device "*t'ung*," which means that the distinction made here between these two finals should not be observed in rhyming poetry. In other words, all the contemporary natural dialects were less complex than the imposed "standard" language.

The "standard" language is not a natural dialect, and must not be studied in the same way as a natural dialect; but this does not mean it is useless. On the contrary, it is quite useful in the description of natural dialects. Modern Pekinese, or the language of Ch'ang-an in 601 A. D., can be described fairly satisfactorily in terms of this "standard" language. It is largely just a question of supplying phonetic values and combining this maximum number of constitutents into whatever combination the particular natural dialect observes. Thus "standard" language has a certain ageless quality about it because it always sought the lowest common denominator.

This principle of interpretation which has proved so fruitful must be pushed still further. Are there other "standard" languages besides those of the Ming and Sung Dynasties? Of course. To find them we must look for strong, re-unifying dynasties, and early in the dynasty. The "glorious T'ang" had a now lost *T'ang-yün*, and the Sui, in all probability, had the *Ch'ieh-yün* attributed to Lu Fa-yen. Unfortunately history has dealt unkindly with both these works, for neither are extant in their original form; but revisions of them are common. As a matter of fact, the celebrated *Kuang-yün* is itself simply a revision of the *T'ang-yün*, and both of them are, in turn, revisions of the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

This lack of originals is not just accidental. Strong dynasties, in their desire to impose unity, were jealous even of the past. If they allowed ancient rhyme books to survive, then people could perhaps justify certain vernacular forms as older than those of the "standard" language, and therefore worth respect. Linguistics had to be approached from the point of view of the ruling dynasty. Just as there could be only one calendar, so there could be only one "standard" language. Charity and practicality alike demanded that it be made broad enough to make room for as many as possible; but after that it was vigorously imposed.

History has been even more unkind with the survivals of the natural dialects. Chou Te-ch'ing's *Chung-yüan yin-yün* is perhaps the most important survival. The circumstances surrounding its creation and survival are worth a little serious consideration. For half a century now, social historians have looked for meaningful patterns in history in terms of "conquest dynasties" and "native dynasties." Curiously enough, this principle sheds some light on Chinese historical lin-

[22] Wang Li, *Han-yü shih-kao*, vol. 1, pp. 49, 50.

guistics. "Standard" languages tend to be strong under native dynasties, for then it is patriotic to obey and support the central government. Native dynasties set up the examination system and the schools that feed into it. The "standard" language becomes the *kuan-hua* or the "language of the officials." Wise emperors encourage the arts. The examinations require poetry in the rhymes of the "standard" language. The patronage of the central government nourishes the "standard" language like a spring shower.

But the situation is radically different under a "conquest dynasty." The conquerors suspend civil service examinations. They use the Chinese bureaucracy with suspicion and foreboding. They mistrust Chinese culture. In Chinese eyes, whatever the conquerors choose to impose is thereby damned. Now it becomes patriotic to ignore the central government as much as possible. Native Chinese exult in their native dialects and local customs, or cling loyally to the defunct forms of the preceding Chinese dynasty.

The Yüan Dynasty was a conquest dynasty. Vernacular poetry in the *ch'ü* form took public favor over the long-established classical *shih*. The Peking stage saw a Renaissance hardly inferior to that of Elizabethan England. The theatrical form which embodied the *ch'ü*, called the *pei ch'ü*, produced four outstanding playwrights who were the darlings of their society. Chou Te-ch'ing made a phonological record of their rhymes to enable his contemporaries to write in this tremendously popular pattern. Chou probably did it to make money, but it was a flaunting of the central government and its regard for "standard" language that would hardly have been tolerated in a Chinese dynasty. Under a conquest dynasty one is most truly Chinese when he supports local differences against the central authority. Under a Chinese dynasty one is most truly Chinese when he supports the unity imposed by the central government.

This gives us an important clue. If we want to study "standard" Chinese, we should look at strong Chinese dynasties. If we want to study natural dialects, we should look first at the conquest dynasties or periods of internal disorder. Traditional Chinese linguists have some phonological materials which they call "P'ing-shui rhymes." "P'ing-shui" is a geographical term, the home of the phonologist Liu Yüan. "P'ing-shui rhymes" represent modifications of "standard" Chinese toward northern colloquial, a process which was intensified by the separation of north and south China into (Northern) Kin and (Southern) Sung. If the records are clear and abundant enough, they should be studied intensively and contrasted with "Ancient Chinese." This would give us information on a North China natural dialect a century or more before Ancient Mandarin.

Japanese *Go-on* represents a survival of one of the southern natural dialects which gained veneration as a Buddhist vehicle. These dialects date from the period of disunity between the Han and the Sui. Japanese *Kan-on*, on the other hand, represents a much later "standard" language. *Go-on* has not survived in China, in all probability because of the power of subsequent central governments. It did survive in Japan because it was as revered as Buddhism, and beyond the long arm of the Chinese Emperor.

This new theoretical frame of reference which I have attempted to delineate provides a great deal of insight which should greatly stimulate studies in Chinese historical linguistics. Modern studies of contemporary natural dialects, such as Grootaers champions and such as continue in Academia Sinica both on Taiwan and on the mainland, as free as possible from the influence of the "standard" forms of the written tradition, are always fruitful areas of inquiry. More careful searches for evidence of natural dialects in China's exuberant cultural heritage are also a possibility. Third, but not least, more critical dissections of "Ancient Chinece" are in order.

The last point requires some additional comment. One of the important characteristics of a "standard" language is that it is mixed. It is deliberately mixed in order to be made broad enough to serve the needs of as much af the whole country as possible. What are the constituents of the mixture? Can any be identified? Can we get a glimpse of any real natural languages in this artificial "standard" one? No such studies have yet been attempted, but they seem to me a distinct possibility.

Kuang-yün contains many duplicate and triplicate pronunciations without any change in meaning; much more than any natural dialect we know, and more than we feel a natural dialect should. In some cases it is possible to identify one of these forms as the ancestral form of a known word in a

natural dialect. *Ting*[4] meaning "to fix, or to settle," has two readings in *Kuang-yün*: one with an unvoiced initial and one with a voiced initial, both in the departing tone. *Lao Ch'i-ta* gives two readings for this same character: the colloquial with an unvoiced initial and the standard reading with a voiced initial. Only the voiced initial form could be the ancestor of both Sino-Korean forms. Thus we can identify the voiced initial form as an "ancestral form," and the unvoiced initial form as a form that occurred after devoicing. We know that de-voicing did not occur at the same time in all parts of China. *Kuang-yün* gives evidence that in 1006 in some parts of China de-voicing had already occurred, but in other parts the older voiced initial still remained.

Increasingly refined studies of the individual components of the "*Ch'ieh-yün*" tradition are constantly appearing and deserve sympathetic notice. Tun-huang materials have provided fragments of earlier editions of the book *Ch'ieh-yün* than have ever been known. The publication of this material furnishes an important reference work for new students.[23] The Palace Museum has also provided an important new *Ch'ieh-yün* text.[24] Both Taiwan and the mainland have printed new editions of the *Yün-ching*, a late T'ang or early Sung rhyme table of the *Ch'ieh yün* tradition.[25] The Taiwan edition, by one of Tung T'ung-ho's students, contains very helpful critical notes.

The constant collecting of data, in this as in all fields, continues. New interpretive frames put this information into more accessible forms, and pave the way for bigger advances in both collection and interpretation.

[23] The most recent one is Kiang Liang-fu, *Ying-ya Tun-huang yün-chi*, Shanghai, 1955.

[24] Wang Jen-hsiu, *K'an-miao pu-ch'üeh Ch'ieh-yün*, Peiping, Palace Museum, 1947.

[25] Lung Yu-ch'un, *Yün-ching chiao-chu*, Taipei, 1960. I have not seen a copy of the new mainland edition, but I know of its existence from the publishers' catalogues.

FROM ARABIC BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS VII: SOME GRAECO-ARABICA IN ISTANBUL

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UPON RETURNING TO ISTANBUL in the summer of 1960, I found that the cataloguing or re-cataloguing of manuscripts on cards has made much progress, to the great benefit of the researcher. More important, I also found alive the same spirit of helpfulness and cooperation among Turkish librarians and scholars which alone made it possible for me to achieve a good deal of work in a very short time. The following notes, though dealing almost exclusively with texts already known and published, will, it is hoped, be found to have some value. If other scholars who like myself had the good fortune of being able to visit Istanbul's libraries in recent years are already acquainted with all or most of the information presented here, I can merely crave their indulgence and hope that they will consider these notes as a sort of footnote to their own works.

1. Pseudo-Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum*.

Ms. Köprülü 1623 is dated, on fol. 304a, in Aleppo, Rajab 4, 749/September 28, 1348, but earlier parts of the manuscript seem to be older. Fols. 79a-88b contain excerpts from the *Placita*, comprising altogether fifty chapters, taken from all five books. Some of the chapters are not quite complete at the end or, much more rarely, at the beginning. The text is full of mistakes and omissions. Occasionally, very brief and unimportant critical comments, possibly by the man who made the excerpts, are added. One of these comments, at the end of the chapter on fate (*baḫt*, I, 27), reads: "This is all that has been said on fate in *Ârâ' aṭ-ṭabî'ah*," clearly a reference to the title of the work.

The fifty chapters cover *De Placitis* I, 24, 27,

28; II, 2-7, 9, 11-15, 17, 20, 22, 24; III, 5, 9-11, 13, 18; IV, 2-7, 9-11, 21, 23; V, 1-4, 7, 11, 12, 15, 19-23, 26. However, the sequence is a different one, and the order of the excerpts is as follows (references in parentheses are to the edition of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmân Badawî, *Aristotelis De Anima* [Cairo, 1954], 89-188): I, 24 (120_{14}-121_5); II, 6 (127_{9-22}); II, 2-5 (126_3-127_8); II, 7 (128_{1-14}); II, 9 (129_{1-5}); II, 11-12 (129_{10-18}); IV, 2-7 (156_{11}-162_8); IV, 9 (162_{20}-163_2); IV, 21 (169_{10}-170_5); IV, 23 (171_{13-20}); I, 27-28 (122_5-123_2); V, 2 (172_{12}-173_2); V, 1 (172_{4-11}); V, 3-4 (173_{3-13}); V, 7 (174_{10-19}); V, 11-12 (176_{11}-177_4); V, 15 (178_{10-17}); V, 19-23 (181_5-183_{16}); V, 26 (184_{20}-185_7); IV, 11 (163_9-164_3); IV, 10 (163_{3-8}); II, 13-15 (130_4-132_9); II, 17 (133_{6-10}); II, 20 (134_5-135_3); II, 22 (136_{4-8}); II, 24 (136_{19}-137_{12}); III, 5 (146_3-147_{16}); III, 9-11 (149_3-150_9); III, 13 (150_{17}-151_4); III, 18 (154_{8-13}).

Badawî's edition is based upon Ms. Ẓâhirîyah 4871 in Damascus, dated in 558/1163. Another old manuscript is in Princeton, cf. J. Kritzek, in *MIDEO*, III (1956), 379. A comparison of the Ẓâhirîyah (Ẓ) and Köprülü (K) manuscripts shows that they are not related directly with each other, although they share one long homoioteleuton omission (146_{6-10} of Badawî's edition; cf. also the common omission, $137_{13\,f.}$, which, however, occurs at the end of a chapter). A good number of Badawî's additions and emendations based upon the Greek text are confirmed by K. On the other hand, K provides a large number of necessary corrections. Some of the more noteworthy ones are listed here. It should be kept in mind that diacritical points are used very sparsely in K.

(127_{10}) after *al-arḍi*, K adds *ka-š-šay'i*; (127_{16}) *al-'unṣura*: K *al-'âlama*; (127_{20}) at the end of the line, K adds *wa-min ḏî 'išrîna qâ'idatan-i-l-mâ'u*; (128_6) *al-'âlami*: K *al-'awâlimi*; (128_{14}) K has *wa-lâkinna jamî'ahâ taṣîru ba'ḍuhâ ilâ makâni ba'ḍin*; (129_1) in K, the title reads *fî hal ḫârija l-'âlami ḫalâ'un*; (129_4) *laysa lahû nihâyatun*: K *laysa lâ nihâyata lahû*; (129_{12}) the passage is corrupt as shown by the Greek, but K adds, it seems, correctly, *an-nâr* after *j-m-d;* (130_5) *mustadîrun*: K *mustanîrun*; *al-jawâhiri*, etc.: K has the sg.; (131_3) *al-q-ḏ-y*: K *al-ġarâ* "glue"; (131_6) *wa-huwa bi-aṭîr*: K *wa-hawâ'un wa-aṭîrun*; (133_9) *taġtaḍî*: K *taḥtâju ilâ ġiḍâ'in*, apparently, the more original reading since it is closer to the Greek; (136_{20}) the words missing in Ẓ are read in K: *taḥtahâ iḍâ* (read *iḍ*) *kâna l-qamaru*; (137_2) *min* is not found in K; (137_3) *muqa'' 'aratun* is again a misprint, for *muqa'' 'aruhû*; (137_4) *mâ*: K *mim-mâ;* (137_{10}) *šumûsun*: K *šumûsun kaṯîratun wa-aqmârun kaṯîratun*; (137_{11}) *qiṭ'atin*: K *qiṭ'in*; *ṭ-ġ-m-r*: K *taqa'u*;

(146_{20}) *muḥâḍiyan lahâ*: K *wa-iḍâ kanat-i-š-šamsu fî l-maġâribi wajaba ḍarûratan an yurâ qawsu quzaḥa ⟨muḥâḍiyan⟩ lahâ*; (147_2) *wa-ṯ-ṯânî mâ'ilan ilâ l-ḫuḍrati*: K *wa-ṯ-ṯânî mâ'ilun li-ṣ-ṣufrati wa-ṯ-ṯâliṯu mâ'ilun li-l-ḫuḍrati*; (147_5) the passage supplied by Badawî reads in K *min-a-l-kudûrati mâ takâṯafa fîhi min-a-l-qaṭarâti wa-li* (read *ka-?*)*-ḍâlika l-aḫḍaru lladî yurâ ba'da ṣ-ṣufrati li-anna l-jisma lladî yan'akisu 'anhu*; (147_6) *yudirru bihî*: K *fa-r-z-q-h*, probably *fa-ḍarraqahû*; the word supplied by Badawî for Greek *labêi* is missing also in K; (147_{13}) *yakûnu*: K *yaqûlu*; ($149_{6\,f.}$) K has *min asfalihâ ilâ a'lâhâ mutakâṯifatun*; incidentally, *durdî* in the next line, which is doubted by Badawî, means "dregs" and is an accurate translation of Greek *tryx*; (151_1) K has *lâkinnahâ laysat ḥarakata nfi'âlin* (read *ntiqâlin*) *lâkinnahâ*; (154_9) *wa-l-kawkabi . . . huwa aġlaẓu*: K *wa-kawkabin âḫara hawâ'u ġilaẓin* (read *hawâ'un ġalîẓun* ?); (154_{10}) K has the sg. *al-kawkabi*; (154_{13}) *alladî 'anhu*: K *wa-'anhu*;

($159_{5,10}$) K has *li-n-nafsi* and *wa-s-sâdisu t-taṣwîtu, etc.*, as in Jâbir; (162_7) *al-ḥayya wa-n-nâṭiqa* is obviously a misprint for *al-juz'a n-nâṭiqa*, found in K; (162_{23}) *al-ḫaṭa'u*: K *al-ḫaṭa'u min jihatin wâḥidatin wa-hiya jihatu l-ašyâ'i l-'aqlîyati* [*l-maḥsûsati*] *wa-ammâ t-taḫayyulu ⟨fa-⟩yaqa'u lahâ* (read *lahû*) *l-ḫaṭa'u*; (163_3) K has *al-ḫâṣṣata*; (163_5) *aṣ-ṣûrati/a*: K *aṣ-ṣuwari/a*; ($163_{6\,f.}$) *wa-yamîlu . . . '-l-s-f-l*: K *wa-y-n-ṣ-l* (*i.e., wa-yantaqilu, yatanaqqalu*) *aḥaduhumâ li-l-uḫrâ miṯla ṭ-ṭanaqquli*; (163_8) K has *al-ḥayawâni lladî laysa bi-nâṭiqin wa-fî l-ḥayawâni l-ḥakîmi wa-fî l-ilâhi*; (163_{16}) *wa-t-taqlîdi*: K *wa-t-tafaqqudi*, which offhand appears to be a more likely translation of Greek *epimeleia*; (171_{15-17}) K fills in the gap of Ẓ as follows: *ammâ 'by'wrs ⟨fa-⟩yarâ anna l-infi'âlâti wa-l-ḥawâssa jamî'an fî l-mawâḍi'i llatî nâlathâ ṭ-ṭa'ṯîrâti wa-anna l-juz'a r-ra'îsa mâ yaqbalu l'infi'âlâti mina-n-nafsi* (K usually does not have *fa-* after *ammâ*); (171_{18}) *aḍ-ḍîqa wa-l-ijtimâ'a* (?): K *aṣ-ṣabra wa-l-ihtimâla*; (171_{20}) *ḥiddatun*: K *najdatun*; *ḫayrun wa-jawdun*: K *jubnun wa-ḫawarun*; (172_9)

K has *lâ yarâ illâ amra ḏ-ḏabâ'iḥi*, which seems more likely and, possibly, presupposes the omission of *ouk* found in one Greek manuscript; (173_5) *min*: K *min-a-d-dami*;

(174_{14}) Hipponax appears correctly in K as *'bwnqs*, though *n* looks rather like an *l*; ($174_{16f.}$) K agrees with the Greek text in reading *yamîn—yamîn* (read *yumnâ*) and *yusrâ—yusrâ*; (176_{16}) K has *al-ajzâ'* which suggests reading *wa-l-mutašâbihata l-ajzâ'i* corresponding to Greek *tas homoiomereias* found in the textual tradition; (176_{21}) *wa-yakûnu*: K *wa-kamâ yakûnu*; (177_1) *ba'da . . . aṣ-ṣûrah*: K *bi-miqdâri taḥayyuli l-mar'ati ṣ-ṣûrata*; (177_2) *huwa fî* is surely a misprint for *hawâ*, found in K; (178_{11}) *lâ* is not found in K; (178_{14}) *al-juz'i*: K *al-j-w-w*, that is, *al-jawfi* "belly"; (181_{8-10}) *iḏ qâla*, supplied by Badawî, is not found in K either; the text missing from Ẓ reads in K as follows: *min-a-l-ḥayawâni yamûtu lâkin yastaḥilu ba'ḍuhâ ilâ ba'ḍin li-annahû tataġayyaru* (not quite clearly written) *ṣûratuhû wa-ammâ 'nqsymlds ⟨fa-⟩yarâ anna*; (181_{11}) K has *qušûrun miṯla qušûri*; (182_9) K adds the required Epicurus and then reads *yarayâni an yamna'â s-samâwîyata ḏâlika*; (185_6) *kulla mutanaffisatin*: K *kulla nafsin*.

"Wenn man sich die Taschen mit Handschriften vollstopft, ist es leicht zu kritisieren" (this, or something of the sort, was, I believe, once said by P. de Lagarde in one his works), and the Princeton manuscript and further manuscript material, when it becomes available, will make the above list much longer. The need for a new edition is strongly indicated.

2. The *Liber De Causis*.

The Arabic text of the *Liber De Causis* was recently printed by 'A. Badawî, *Neoplatonici apud Arabes* (Cairo, 1955), 1-33. A new, scientific edition has been promised by G. C. Anawati, who discussed his project in *Mélanges Massignon* (Damascus, 1956), I, 73-110. It seems that a second manuscript of the work is preserved in Istanbul in the Süleymaniye Library, Ḥâjjî Maḥmûd 5683. This manuscript contains, on fols. 102b-119a, a work whose beginning and end agree with the *Liber De Causis*. The manuscript is not dated, and it is recent. Having no microfilm of it, I am unable to say whether it possesses any independent value for the establishment of the text. The title, such as it is, makes reference to the possible authorship of Proclus: *Kalâm fî maḥḍ al-ḫabar* (sic) *qîla inna 'brwqys laḫḫaṣahû min kalâm Aflâṭûn wa-qîla li-Aflâṭûn*. This, of course, is quite surprising, unless it should prove possible to show Western influence upon the origin of the manuscript or dependence upon Bardenhewer's edition; if not, the vast implications of this title will require careful and prolonged study.

3. Proclus *De Aeternitate Mundi*.

The text of *Ḥujaj Brqls fî qidam al-'âlam*, published by 'A. Badawî, *Neoplatonici apud Arabes*, 34-42, on the basis of Ms. Ẓâhiryîyah 4871,[1] ends by stating that the translation was the work of Isḥâq b. Ḥunayn and that there existed another, poor translation. In fact, another translation, in much less elegant Arabic, is preserved in two Istanbul manuscripts: Pertev Paša 617, fols. 240b-244a,[1a] and Üniversité, Ar. 1458, fols. 230a-231b. The former is deposited in the Millet Library. It is an Arabic-Persian *majmû'ah* of uncertain date, but rather recent. The latter manuscript, also a *majmû'ah*, which has already been referred to on occasion in the scholarly literature, dates from the last days of Jumâdâ II, 1236/beg. April, 1821 (with some later additions). I have used here only the Pertev manuscript, but the identity of its text with that of the other manuscript is clear from the fact that they completely agree as to the wording of the beginnings of the individual proofs (noted down by me in 1952).

The *incipit* of the Pertev manuscript runs as follows: *Hâḏâ awwalu kitâbi 'brqls aṭ-Ṭarsûsî* (*aṭ-Ṭ.* added *supra lin.*) *wa-ḥujjatihî 'alâ anna l-'âlama lâ kawna lahû wa-lâ fasâda fî zamânin wa-anna Aflâṭûna 'alâ miṯli ra'yihî fîhi ṯamâniyatu mayâmira; al-mîmar al-awwal. . . .* In the margin, we find the title *al-Mayâmir li-'brqls*. Ms. Université Ar. 1458 begins in the same way, except for reading *mayâmîr* and adding, in the title only, *aṭ-Ṭarṭûsî al-Yûnânî*.

While the version edited by Badawî (called here

[1] Cf. also Badawî, in *Mélanges Massignon*, I, 149-51, and G. C. Anawati, in *Mélanges Mgr (A.) Diès* (Paris, 1956), 21-25.

[1a] The manuscript contains among other things a number of works by Ibn Sînâ and was, consequently, listed in the *Essai de bibliographie Avicennienne* by G. C. Anawati (Cairo, 1950) and, presumably, other Ibn Sînâ bibliographies not accessible to me.

Version B) contains nine of the proofs, the other text (called here Version A) has only eight. A gives each proof a brief title, followed, in most cases, by "Proclus said." There also are a very few, very brief explanatory notes, apparently going back to the translator.

The use in A of *mîmar*, a good literal translation of Greek *logos*, as against *ḥujjah* in B, makes one suspect a translation from the Syriac, but there is no further evidence for this. Expressions such as a noun *lâ-matâ* for *to oudepote* or *mâ lâ ṭaqsa fîhi* for *to atakton*, merely reflect the general Aramaic share in the genesis of the Arabic translation literature. Both versions seem to presuppose the identical Greek text. Conjectures in the Greek text made by its editor, H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1899), are always either confirmed or rejected by both A and B. In the passage on p. $39_{6\,f.}$ of Badawî's edition, A makes the intelligent suggestion that *laysa* be added (*in kâna ṣ-ṣâ'ni'u waḥdahû laysa yanquḍu tartîba l-'âlami li-annahû . . .*), without, however, being able to restore a completely satisfactory reading. An addition not found in the Greek text in B (40, n. 3) is also represented in A. A number of omissions in A may have been caused in the course of the transmission of the Arabic text, or they may, in some cases, have their origin in the despair of the Arabic translator. They do not presuppose a different Greek text. An omission such as we find on p. 41_8 of Badawî's edition may be a misprint or a mistake in the manuscript at the disposal of the editor; A has here the complete text.

As already stated, the Arabic of A is the clumsy, old-fashioned language which Ḥunayn's school succeeded in bringing into disrepute, though not, however, eliminating it entirely. It also uses such translations as *annîyah* and *annahû* for *to einai*.[2] Without the aid of the Greek, it is hard to understand. However, at times, one is inclined to consider it more suitable than B in its choice of words and its syntax. B, with its elegant Arabic, also follows the Greek text much more closely than A.

It is impossible to assume that the translator of A was acquainted with B, as he would certainly have recognized it as preferable in most respects to his own work (and A is presumably the older version). On the other hand, there are a few occasional passages where one has the feeling that the translator of B was acquainted with A. For instance, on p. 36_7, both versions supply the name of Aristotle. On p. 37_{19}, both use *qurbah ilâ Allâh—bu'd* to render Greek *eusebein—asebein*. On p. 38_{14}, *dâllun 'alâ zamânin* renders *chronikon*, as does *dalîlun 'alâ z-zamâni* in A. On p. 39_{15}, both versions add the name of Plato which is not in the Greek text (A omits the connected passage mentioning Socrates, Timaeus, and the Muses). However, all these minutiae may be due to coincidence. In any case, they are so insignificant that they do not in the least impugn the independence of the translator of B.

Which version was used by later users of the text remains to be investigated. The occurrence of terms such as *ṣâni'* and *falak* which ash-Shahrastânî, *Milal*, 338-40 Cureton, shares with A, as against *ḫâliq* and *samâ'* in B, seems to indicate that his text was based, ultimately, upon A.

In the case of Proclus' *De Aeternitate Mundi*, we are thus fortunate in having two different translations of the same difficult Greek philosophical text preserved in Arabic. A comparative study of the two versions cannot fail to advance our knowledge of the Graeco-Arabic translation technique and the development of the Arabic philosophical vocabulary.

4. The *Ta'rîḫ al-aṭibbâ'* of Isḥâq b. Ḥunayn.

Dr. Fuat Sezgin, of Istanbul, who is working on a supplement to *GAL* listing the manuscripts in Turkish libraries, kindly called my attention to the existence of a second manuscript of the work, preserved on the last few pages of Ms. Aya Sofya 4850, fols. 86b-88a. The text is written by the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, which is dated, on fol. 86a, in Damascus in 631/1233-34. Comparison with the text published in *Oriens*, VII (1954), 55-80, which is based upon Ms. Hekimoğlu Ali Paša 691, dated in 811/1409, shows that the Aya Sofya manuscript contains only a little more than half of the published text. It breaks off with p. 66_9 of the publication but goes on to add a few disconnected lines from the end of the work (beginning with the last line of p. 70). Another manuscript is listed by P. Sbath, in *Al-Fihris* (Cairo, 1938), I, 28, under the title mentioned by Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'ah, I, 201_{27} Müller; the whereabouts of this manuscript are unknown.

The Aya Sofya manuscript (here called AS)

[2] Cf. M.-T. d'Alverny, *Anniyya-Anitas*, in *Mélanges É. Gilson* (Paris-Toronto, 1959), 59-91.

does not contribute anything to the solution of the main problem connected with Isḥâq's little work, namely, whether the text as published in *Oriens* is complete. It contains substantially the same text but with a considerable number of minor variants and agreeing closely with the text as quoted in authors such as Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'ah, whose readings should nearly always be accepted into the text. Some of the variants deserve mention: (61, beg.) AS has Abû l-Ḥasan b. Firâs, instead of Abû l-'Abbâs, but, in the following line, omits the *kunyah* altogether; in place of the *kunyah* of the addressee, Abû l-Ḥusayn Walî ad-dawlah, AS reads *sayyidî l-wazîri*; (61, n. 7) *mâ* (corrected to *mim-mâ*): AS *fa-'alâ mâ*; (61, n. 9) AS has *akṯaru ta'aqquban*; (61, last line) AS has *sayyidî l-wazîru: da'nî min hâḏâ*; (62_3) *wa-taqifu*: AS *wa-taqifûna*; (62, n. 2) AS has *bayna*; (62_5) at the end of the line, AS adds *wa-naḥâ lî fihi*; (63_3) for *at-tawqî'âti*, AS has the expected *al-îqâ'âti*; (63, n. b-b) AS includes the reference to the sorcerers of the Yemen and of Babel, preceded by a reference to the people of Cos, which, however, may not belong to the original text; (63, last line) the gloss *a'nî l-mawâdda* is not found in AS; (64_2) AS *aw yastaḫrijahû*; (64, n. 3) AS *al-ḫâliqu*.

5. The Trojan Horse.

We may conclude the austere philological discussion on a lighter note. The *Kitâb Luṭf at-tadbîr fî ḥiyal al-mulûk* (this title, from the end of one of the manuscripts, seems more appropriate than the *siyâsât al-mulûk* found in the biographers) was written by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallâh al-Iskâfî, who was known to his contemporaries as Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḫaṭîb. He was one of the men around the Ṣâḥib Ibn 'Abbâd, but he died considerably later than the latter, namely, according to Yâqût, in 420/1029.[3] Of the two manuscripts I consulted in Istanbul, the one in the Süleymaniye Library, Reïs el-küttap 1005, is not dated and originated probably in the 13th or 14th century; the other, first noted by O. Rescher,[4] is in the Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2633. It was completed on Ramaḍân 1, 880/December 29, 1475. The name of the author is given in both manuscripts as Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḫaṭîb.

Among the recommendable ruses to be practiced by rulers in order to conquer cities, the author relates the story of the Trojan horse (Reïs el-küttap 1005, fols. 19a-21a, and Ahmet III 2633, fols. 6b-7b). His immediate source is not known. Nothing is said about the connection of the story with Homer. It may have gone through a stage, probably quite a prolonged one, of oral transmission where all the big and little inaccuracies must have crept in. In its distorted form, it may then have been picked up by Near Eastern historians, but it is more likely that it entered Arabic literature through *adab* works. One is reminded of the fact that Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî, a contemporary and, presumably, a personal acquaintance of Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḫaṭîb, reported the story of the cranes of Ibycus in a very polished form,[5] and it would not be surprising to find that he also used the Trojan horse somewhere in his works. At the beginning of it all, there was, we may assume, a collection of Greek stories, known in the Near East and translated into Syriac and into Arabic, which reached the many intellectuals interested in Greek literature and was occasionally mined by them for pertinent material; this they either transformed into highly artistic Arabic as was done by at-Tawḥîdî (and in the work ascribed to Ḥunayn), or, as in the case of our Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḫaṭîb,

[3] Cf. Yâqût, *Iršâd* (Cairo, 1355-57), XVIII, 214 f.; ed. D. S. Margoliouth, VII, 20. The date indicated in *GAL*, I, 279, *Suppl.*, I, 491, II, 1015, 2nd ed., I, 331, is 421; it appears to have been derived from the title pages of two other works by Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḫaṭîb printed in Cairo. As-Suyûṭî, *Buġyah* (Cairo, 1326), 63, copies Yâqût but gives no date, nor does Ḥâjjî Ḫalîfah, V, 320 Flügel. Al-Mâfarrûḫî, *Maḥâsin Iṣfahân* (Teheran, 1312/1933), 31, mentions only the name.

It may be noted that Ms. Ragib 181 in Istanbul, listed in *GAL*, II, 263, as a work of Lisân ad-dîn Ibn al-Ḫaṭîb, clearly is the *Durrat at-tanzîl* of our author. The beautiful manuscript is dated in 733 when Lisân ad-dîn was only twenty years old.

[4] In *RSO*, IV (1911-12), 725.

[5] *Kitâb al-Imtâ'* (Cairo, 1939-44), II, 153 f., cf. P. Kraus' remarks in the appendix to vol. III. Cf. also ad-Damîrî, *Ḥayawân* (Bûlâq, 1292), I, 257, *s. v. ḥajal*. The name of Odysseus was known to at-Tawḥîdî, *op. cit.*, I, 164.

The Nawâdir al-falâsifah ascribed to Ḥunayn also contain the story of Ibycus, but its Arabic text is preserved in only one of the manuscripts (in the beginning of Ms. or. Brit. Mus. 8681) and in the translations. A comparison of A. Loewenthal's German translation of the Hebrew translation (Berlin, 1896, 52 f.) with at-Tawḥîdî shows literal agreement between the two sources.

they reported it in its more original popular linguistic form.

Abû 'Abdallâh's version of the immortal story runs as follows:

"The story goes that a king of the ancient Greeks[6] raided the land of Africa (Phrygia).[7] He crossed the sea to reach its inhabitants. Then, he laid siege to a city of theirs for a long time, and they fought him in defense of its gates. Among the companions of the king of the Greeks was a man called Achilles,[8] a man of unequaled bravery. For some reason, he had a quarrel with the king and therefore refrained from participating in the war. Among the inhabitants of the city of Africa was a man called Hector,[9] who was extremely brave. He killed every Greek who went out against him. The king of the Greeks learned about this, and he contrived a ruse against Achilles. They said to a friend[10] of his: 'Were you to ride the horse of Achilles and go out against Hector, we could hope that you might kill him and rid us of him.' They succeeded in deceiving him. He put on the armor[11] of Achilles and a special emblem by which he was known, and went out against Hector, who killed him. Now, the Greeks said to Achilles that Hector had killed his friend. He got angry, called for his armor and horse, went out against Hector, and fought and killed him. This cut into the strength of the inhabitants of Africa.

Then, Achilles said to the king: 'After my friend has been killed, the only thing that will satisfy me is the complete destruction of the people. Thus, give me authority to plan.' And the king did so. Whereupon he ordered craftsmen to make a statue of a big horse that was hollow, to inlay it with gold and mosaics of all different kinds of stone, and to make it so large that its belly could hold a hundred men. He made for it wheels upon which it could be moved, and a concealed door through which the men were able to enter.

Achilles then said to the king: 'Send the inhabitants of the city a message that will soothe them and not expose you to the suspicion of treachery. Then, withdraw and give them the impression that you are returning to your country. Withdraw with your ships until you are out of their sight, but when night falls, come back with a number of your most valiant companions as fast as possible, so as to reach the people at dawn. But leave this horse here behind, for I hope to enter it with a hundred of your trusted men.' The king sent a message to the inhabitants of the city, and they responded and accepted the truce. He whetted their appetite for it (the horse ?).[12] He accepted from them some gift they offered him, and said to them: "I had intended not to leave before I had not laid waste your city. Therefore, I have constructed this horse to have it take the place of our idols at home, but I cannot take it with me; therefore, take you care of it for us.'

Now, Achilles, together with a hundred of the bravest Greeks, had entered the horse. When the king of the Greeks had withdrawn from the city and had sailed out of sight, the inhabitants of the city came out and went around the horse and admired it, so much so that finally they moved it upon a carriage in order to bring it into the city. However, the gate (of the city) proved too narrow, so they widened it to be large enough to admit the horse upon a carriage. Then, they went around it and sat around drinking wine, not noticing any possible way of entrance into (the horse). Finally, night fell, and they soon felt the effect of the wine [not noticing any possible way of entrance into (the horse)]. When the dawn came and the people had dispersed, either drunk or feeling completely safe, the king of the Greeks sailed toward them in light ships carrying the bravest men of his army. He reached them at dawn, finding the gate of the city torn down. Achilles and those with him left the belly of the horse and went against (the inhabitants hitting (them) with their swords, thus preventing them from guarding the gate. The king of the Greeks entered the city and destroyed it completely."

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[6] *Ar-Rûm al-Yûnâniyîn.* Later on in the text, only *ar-Rûm* is used.

[7] The misreading Africa for Phrygia is easily understandable. Phrygia (*'frwjy'*) as the locale of the Trojan War appears in the *History* of Agapius of Manbij, ed. L. Cheikho (Beirut-Paris-Leipzig, 1912), 71 (*CSCO, Script. Ar.*, III, 5).

[8] Always spelled *'rsl'ws*. Except for the unexplained *r*, this is a good transcription of the name, using *š* for Greek *ch* (*'šl'ws*).

[9] *'qṭr.*

[10] Arabic *aḫ.*

[11] *Silâḥ*, lit. "weapons." This would require no comment, were it not for the fact that Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḫaṭîb himself, in his lexicographical work, stresses the distinction between *silâḥ* and *junnah*, cf. *Mabâdi' al-luġah* (Cairo, 1325), 93.

[12] *Fa-aṭ'amahum fîhi*, as my copy has, may be a mistake for *fa-aṭma'ahum fîhi.*

APABHRAṂŚA STUDIES (IV) *

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IN THREE STANZAS of the Apabhraṃśa chapter in the *Siddhahema* is found the idiom *bali kijjaũ*,[1] which neither as to its form nor as to its meaning has been satisfactorily explained so far. In this idiom, which seems to have been considered as representing OI *baliṃ kṛ-* 'to bring a bali,' the verb *kijjaũ* has been taken by Pischel and others as an instance of 'passivum pro activo,' while Alsdorf though agreeing with Pischel as far as the formation is concerned denies to *kijjaũ* an active meaning. The problem is not without importance as in MI passive verbs with active meaning were already noted by Weber and the occurrence of such forms was recognized by Pischel.[2] Moreover, a fuller inquiry into the problem may, as will be seen, add to our knowledge of the formation of Apabhraṃśa and implicity of NIA.

The first of the stanzas concerned is IV 338 and reads: *jo guṇa govai appaṇā, paaḍā karai parassu | tasu haũ kalijugi dullahaho bali kijjaũ suaṇassu.*[3] Trivikrama, in his chāyā to this dohā, takes *kijjaũ* as passive in form and active in meaning: *yo guṇān gopayaty ātmanaḥ prakaṭān karoti parasya | tasyāhaṃ kaliyuge durlabhasya baliṃ kriye sujanasya.* Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin likewise seems to understand *kijjaũ* as a passive with active sense: *ya ātmīyān guṇān gopayati, parasya guṇān prakaṭān karoti | ahaṃ kaliyuge tasya durlabhasya sujanasya baliṃ | pūjāṃ | kriye.* On the basis of these chāyās Pischel, taking *kriye* as active in meaning, translates: 'Wer seine eigenen Vorzüge verbirgt und die eines anderen ans Licht zieht, dem guten Menschen der im Kaliyuga schwer anzutreffen ist, werde ich eine Spende darbringen.'[4] The same view is probably held by the author of the Dodhakavṛtti, who explains *bali kijjaũ* as *baliṃ | pūjāṃ | kriye.*[5] In the Appendix to his edition of the *Kumārapālacarita* Vaidya translates *bali kijjaũ* with *baliṃ karomi*, but leaves the form otherwise unexplained.[6] In his edition of Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar Vaidya has adopted the reading *baliṃ karomi*, while mentioning in the critical apparatus the variant *baliḥ kriye.*[7] On the contrary, Sharma Guleri takes *kijjaũ* as a pure passive: *jo guṇ gupātā hai apne, prakaṭ kartā hai par ke, tiskī maiṇ kaliyug meṇ durlabh kī bali kiyā jāūṇ sujan kī*, and explains *'balihārī jāūṇ, bali jāūṇ, balaiya hūṇ.'*[8] Alsdorf similarly takes *kijjaũ* as an ordinary passive form and renders: 'einem solchen will ich mich zum Opfer darbringen lassen.'[9]

The second stanza is found in IV 445, 3 and runs: *pāi vilaggī antraḍī siru lhasiu kandhassu | to vi kaṭārai hatthaḍau, bali kijjaũ kantassu.* Here again Trivikrama gives the same rendering of *kijjaũ* as before: *pāde vilagnam āntraṃ, śiras srastaṃ skandhasya | tato 'pi kaḍāre hastaḥ, baliṃ kriye kāntasya.* Similarly Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin: *āntraṃ pāde vilagnaṃ, śiraḥ skandhaṃ prati lhasitaṃ | patitaṃ | tato 'pi hastaḥ kṣurikāyām, ahaṃ kāntasya baliṃ kriye.* Pischel takes *kijjaũ* as above and translates: 'Am Fusze hängen die Eingeweide, der Kopf ist auf die Schulter gesunken; trotzdem ruht die Hand auf dem Dolch: ich werde dem Geliebten eine Spende darbringen.'[10] Vaidya's view, as expounded in his edition of the Kumārapālacarita, is not clear as his

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* See *JAOS*, 74 (1954), 1-5, 142-146, and 79 (1959), 7-16.

[1] Actual forms: *kijjaũ, kijjami, kīsu.*

[2] R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research I, 8 (Strassburg, 1900), p. 376, § 550.

[3] R. Pischel, *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, abbr. *Siddhahema* (Halle, 1877-80), Vol. I, p. 154; II, p. 182.

[4] R. Pischel, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa*, Abh. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, NF V, 4 (Berlin, 1902), p. 7.

[5] Candradhar Sharma Guleri, "Purānī Hindī," *Nāgarīpracāriṇī patrikā* (Benares, 1920), II, p. 156.

[6] P. L. Vaidya, *The Kumārapālacarita of Hemacandra* (Poona, 1936), p. 673; idem., *Praakrit Grammar of Hemacandra*, rev. ed. (Poona, 1958), p. 669.

[7] P. L. Vaidya, *Prakrit Grammar of Trivikrama* (Sholapur, 1954), p. 278.

[8] C. S. Guleri, "Purānī Hindī," p. 156.

[9] L. Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, Abf. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes XXII, 2 (Leipzig, 1937), p. 63.

[10] R. Pischel, *Materialien*, p. 44.

rendering is not literal: *baliḥ kriyate kantasya.*[11] In his edition of the grammar of Trivikrama, however, he reads *baliṃ karomi*, whereas the mss. K and S have *baliḥ kriye.*[12] Sharma Guleri and Alsdorf again take *kijjaũ* as passive; the former renders: '*pāv meṇ lagī, āt sir lhasa* (*jhuk gayā*) *kandhe par, to bhī kaṭār par hāth, bali jāūṇ,*'[13] while the latter translates: 'gern würde ich mich sebst opfern um den Geliebten aus seiner Todesnot zu retten.'[14]

The third occurrence of the idiom under discussion is to be found in IV 389 as an illustration of the sūtra *kriyeḥ kīsu | kriye ity etasya kriyāpadasyāpabhraṃśe kīsu ity ādeśo vā bhavati* 'für das Zeitwort *kriye* kann in Apabhraṃś das Substitut *kīsu* eintreten.' The stanza reads: *santa bhoga ju pariharai, tasu kantaho bali kīsu | tasu daiveṇa ji muṇḍiau, jasu khallihaḍau sīsu.*[15] Though the sūtra in itself cannot be misunderstood, Trivikrama takes *kīsu* as active in function: *sato bhogān yaḥ pariharati, tasya kantasya baliṃ kriye | tasya daivenāpi vimathitaṃ, yasya khalvāṭaṃ śīrṣam.* Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin likewise translates here by *kriye* in active meaning: *yaḥ sato | vidyamānān | bhogān pariharati, tasya kāntasya baliṃ | pūjāṃ | kriye | yasya śīrṣaṃ khalvāṭaṃ, tasya daivenaiva muṇḍitam.* Against Hemacandra's sūtra Pischel takes *kīsu* as active and translates: 'dem Geliebten, der Genüsse die sich ihm bieten meidet, werde ich eine Spende darbringen; wessen Haupt kahl ist, dem ist es vom Geschick geschoren.'[16] Vaidya, too, in spite of Hemacandra's sūtra, renders *kīsu* in an active sense 'I offer my homage to that lover,'[17] a view which he apparently has kept in his edition of Trivikrama.[18] Sharma Guleri gives the translation: '*hote hue bhogoṇ ko jo chorṭā hai, us kī kānt kī bali kī jāy* (*us kī balihārī jāiẽ*); *us kā daiv ne hī muṇḍ diyā hai sir, jis kā gañjā hai sīs,*' but strange to observe explains *kīsu* as '*maiṇ karuṇ*' and '*tu kar.*'[19] Alsdorf is the only one who follows the sūtra and consistently translates: 'einem solchen Geliebten will ich mich zum Opfer darbringen lassen.'[20] Ghosal, who was the last to deal with this stanza, follows the interpretation of Pischel.[21]

Apart from the above occurrences the idiom *bali kijjaũ* is found in a stanza from Bhojadeva's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, discussed by Pischel in *Materialien* XVIII: *vallahe lahu bolantai, entai puṇu cirahu*[22] *| bali kijjami, tāmarasinī, tujjhu rosahu thirahu | yena niraggalu jaṃpai kiṃ pi na jāva jaṇu | tāva himeṇa visittī jhatti puluṭṭhataṇu.*[23] The chāyā to this stanza *vallabhe laghu vadaty, āgacchati punar bahu | bali kriye, tāmarasini, tava doṣasya sthirasya* is obviously not reliable, as is seen from *vadati* (for *bolantai*), *doṣasya* (for *roṣasya*), *bahu* (wrong reading for *cirahu*), and finally from *bali kriye*, which is no Sanskrit at all. Even the chāyā of Jagaddhara *vallabhe laghu vyapakrāmati, punar āgacchati cireṇa baliḥ kriye, tāmarasini, tava roṣasya sthirasya | yena nirākulaṃ jalpati kim api na yāvaj janas tāvadd himena viśīrṇā jhatiti pluṣṭatanuḥ* should be used with caution because of *nirākulam* (for *niraggalu*), which is evidently wrong. Also on account of Jagaddhara's commentary and of Bhojadeva's own additional remarks, from which we see that he took *bali kijjami* as *baliḥ kriye*, Alsdorf concludes that *kijjami* can only be passive and translates: 'möchte ich das Opfer werden.'[24] Pischel, who had no access to these materials, renders as before.[25]

From the above conspectus it is seen that there is no agreement among scholars about the interpretation of *bali kijjaũ*. Pischel, who obviously started from Sanskrit and who moreover was probably much impressed by Weber's theory of the 'passivum pro activo' in MI, was naturally prepared to take *kijjaũ* as a passive form with active function. Alsdorf, on the contrary, probably could not agree to Weber's theory as far as Apabhraṃśa is concerned, in which he is no doubt right, as such a usage is against the spirit of IA and, if ever,

[11] P. L. Vaidya, *Kumārapālacarita*, p. 711.
[12] P. L. Vaidya, *Prakrit Grammar of Trivikrama*, p. 304.
[13] C. S. Guleri, "Purānī Hindī," p. 214.
[14] L. Alsdorf, *Apabhaṃśa-Studien*, p. 63.
[15] R. Pischel, *Siddhahema*, Vol. I, p. 166; II, p. 202.
[16] R. Pischel, *Materialien*, p. 21.
[17] P. L. Vaidya, *Kumārapālacarita*, p. 690.
[18] P. L. Vaidya, *Prakrit Grammar of Trivikrama*, p. 300 f.
[19] C. S. Guleri, "Purānī Hindī," p. 177.
[20] L. Alsdorf, *Apqabhraṃśa-Studien*, p. 64.
[21] S. N. Ghosal, "Some Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra," *JAS*, XXII, 2, p. 226.
[22] Correctly emended by Alsdorf, "Middle Indian Miscellanies," *BSOS*, X (1939-42), p. 23.
[23] R. Pischel, *Materialien*, p. 55; *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ed. Durgāprasād and Pansīkar, Kāvyamālā 94 (Bombay, 1925), p. 387; ed. Borooah (Calcutta, 1883), p. 219.
[24] L. Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, p. 67.
[25] R. Pischel, *Materialien*, p. 55.

could only be conceived in a much more advanced stage of MI than is represented by Apabhraṃśa. The question then arises whether there is any criterium to settle the problem. This criterium is found primarily in the meaning of the idiom *bali kijjaũ*. Pischel, as we have seen, renders in all occurrences the turn *bali kijjaũ* with 'to pay homage to.' Alsdorf remarks to this: 'Pischel hat die Redensart *bali kijjai* misverstanden; *bali* ist Nominativ, nicht Accusativ; *kijjai* ist eine im gewöhnlichen Sinne gebrauchte 1. sg. ind. pass.; das Ganze bedeutet also 'möge ich zum Opfer dargebracht werden für, ich will mich opfern lassen für,' und entspricht der so häufigen persischen Ergebenheitsbeteuerung *qurbān-at-savan* 'möge ich dein Opfer sein.' Alsdorf's actual renderings, however, give rise to criticism. In IV 338 *jo guṇa govai appaṇā, paaḍa karai parassu | tasu kalijuge dullahaho bali kijjaũ suaṇassu* he explains *bali kijjaũ tasu* with 'einem solchen will ich mich zum Opfer darbringen lassen' als Beteuerung der Ungläublichkeit, etwa einem modernen 'ich will mich aufhängen lassen, wenn es so jemand gibt.'[26] But the words *dullahaho* (rare) and *suaṇassu* (a good man) exclude in my opinion such an interpretation. As a fact the idea expressed in this stanza becomes clear from a verse from the *Vajjālaggam*: *chandaṃ jo anuvaṭṭai, mammaṃ rakkhai, guṇe payasei | so ṇavari manusānāṃ devānāṃ vi vallaho hoi* 'he who complies with another's wishes, who conceals another's weak points, who reveals another's good qualities, he alone is dear both to men and gods.'[27] The underlying idea is consequently one of *prem, bhakti* or *praśaṃśā*, and not of 'Ungläublichkeit' as Alsdorf holds it. On account of IV 389 *santā bhoga ju pariharai, tasu kantaho bali kīsu | tasu daiveṇa ji muṇḍiau, jasu khallihaḍau sīsu* Alsdorf remarks: Warum dem freiwillig auf Genüsse verzichtenden Geliebten eine Spende dargebracht werden soll, vermag ich nicht einzusehen; es könnte dies höchstens ein Ausdruck der Bewunderung sein; in Wirklichkeit aber sagt das Mädchen spöttisch 'ein Liebhaber, der freiwillig verzichtet, das gibt es ja nicht; einem solchen Geliebten will ich mich zum Opfer darbringen lassen.' But a verse from the *Daśavaikālika* (II 2, 3) shows otherwise: *vatthagandham alaṃkāraṃ itthīo sayaṇāni ya | acchandā ye na bhuñjati, na sa cāi tti vuccai || je ya kante pie bhoe laddhe vippiṭṭhahakuvvai | sāhīṇe cayai bhoe, se hu cāi tti vuccai* ||[28] 'he who against his will does not enjoy garments, perfumes, adornments, women and couches, that man is not called a *tyāgin*; he, however, who renounces dear enjoyments obtained and freely abandons enjoyments, that man is called a *tyāgin*.' Moreover, the leading idea may be gathered from Joindu II 139, who gives the same stanza in a somewhat different form and to which Brahmadeva adds the remark; *atha ātmabhāvanārthaṃ yo 'sau vidyamānaviṣayān tyajati, tasya praśaṃsāṃ karoti.* In IV 445, 3 *pāi vilaggī antraḍī, siru lhasiu khandhassu | to vi kaṭārai hatthaḍau: bali kijjaũ kantassu* Alsdorf gives the rendering: 'gern würde ich mich selbst opfern um den Geliebten aus seiner Todesnot, in der er ohne Rücksicht auf sein Leben immer noch weiter ficht, zu retten." But here again the idea of the dohā has been missed, as appears from *Vajjālagam* 166: *uyare asikapparie, antohi nivaḍiyammi calaṇesu | bhamai bhaḍo jasaluddho sasaṃkalo mattahatthi vva* 'while the belly is split open with the sword, and the mass of intestines has fallen at his feet, the warrior longing for fame (*jasaluddho*) moves about like a mad elephant tied with chains.'[29] Alsdorf's interpretation, finally, does not fit the stanza from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* quoted above. Here Alsdorf gives the following explanation: 'Die verlassene Liebende schreibt das Erfrieren der Lotusblume dem Feuer des Zornes über die Vernachlässigung durch den Geliebten Sonne zu; sie sieht in dem der Lotusblume das ihr selbst drohende Schicksal und möchte sich daher diesem todbringenden Zorn zum Opfer darbringen um ihn so zu beschwichtigen.' He accordingly translates: 'Möchte ich, o Lotusblume, das Opfer werden deines Zornes auf den (am kürzen Wintertage) schnell fortgehenden und spät wieder kommenden Geliebten (Sonne); ist dir doch, noch ehe die Leute (wie sie es bei mir bald tun werden) etwas Unverschämtes von dir reden konnten, flugs von Frost zermürbt der Leib verbrannt.'[30] But here again the idea has been missed. Starting from *kijjami* in passive function, which remains to be proved, we get the idea:

[26] L. Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, p. 66.

[27] J. Laber, *Vajjālaggam*, Bibliotheca Indica, 227 (Calcutta, 1944), p. 19; N. A. Gore, *Vajjālaggam* (Poona, 1954), p. 20.

[28] P. L. Vaidya, *Kumārapālacarita*, p. 691.

[29] J. Laber, *Vajjālaggam*, p. 35; ed. Gore, p. 36.

[30] L. Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, p. 67.

'In the winterseason, when the beloved goes away early and comes back late, I am ready to die for the sake of your strong wrath, O lotus-flower, by which any person, as soon as he talks ill of you, is at once body-burned,' *i.e.*, the lady who talks to the lotus-flower wants to express her respect for the wrath of the lotus-flower which, through its fire ('*kopāgni*'), burns anybody who speaks ill of her. The conclusion is unavoidable that by *bali kijjami* (*kijjaũ*) is expressed a feeling of *prem, bhakti* or *praśaṃsā* as already explained above, and it is a curious coincidence that both the active and the passive may serve the purpose ('to pay homage to': 'to be ready to die for') the only difference being that the former is less strong than the latter. The idea of love is especially clear from Hemacandra's stanza in illustration of his sūtra *kriyeḥ kīsu* in the *Kumārapālacarita* VIII, 43: *saṃjamalīṇaho mokkhasuhu nicchaī hosai tāsu | piya bali kīsu bhaṇantiau nāī pahuccahī jāsu* 'the happiness of *moksha* will fall to the share of that yogin engrossed in self-control, who is not overpowered by women when they say to him: I will die for you.'[31] The aspect of praise, on the other hand, becomes manifest from Joindu, *Paramātmaprakāśa* II 160: *uvvasa vasiya ju karai, vasiya karai ju suṇṇu | bali kijjaũ tasu joiyahī, jāsu ṇa pāu ṇa puṇṇu* 'the yogin, who makes the inhabited deserted and the vacant inhabited, to that yogi, whose is neither evil nor merit, I am wholly devoted,' after which the Hindī ṭīkā remarks that the verse is meant as a praise of the yogin: *Yogīndradeva paramayogiyoṇ kī praśaṃsā karte haiṇ.*[32] A similar explanation is given by the commentator Brahmadeva at Joindu, *Paramātmaprakāśa* II 139: *santa visaya ju pariharai, bali kijjaũ kantaho tasu,* which he preceded by the introductory remark: *atha ātmabhāvanārthaṃ yo 'sau vidyamānaviṣayān tyajati, tasya praśaṃśāṃ karoti.*[33] So, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the idiom *bali kijjaũ* in the stanzas under consideration: it expresses a feeling of respect, love, devotion, praise, eulogy, and may be translated by 'to respect, to love, to bless, to be devoted to, to give one's life for, to belong wholly to someone.' This, however, does not give a direct answer to the question whether in the idiom *bali kijjaũ* the verb *kijjaũ* is an active form, or a passive with active meaning, or a pure passive.

If the meaning of *bali kijjaũ* is not a sufficient criterium to settle the question of the diathesis of *kijjaũ*, the only point left over for discussion is the form *kīsu*, which Hemacandra equates with *kriye* and which occurs in the same context as *kijjau* (IV 389), as we have seen above. Pischel, who considered *kijjaũ* to be a 'passivum pro activo,' took *kīsu* as a future act. and derived it from an older form **kirṣyāmi.*[34] Alsdorf, on the contrary, who considered *kijjaũ* as passive, explained *kīsu* as a passive form going back to **kiry-sāmi*, based on the passive stem *kiryai*: OI *kriyate.*[35] Both of these explanations prove to be wrong. In trying to explain the form *kīsu* we must bear in mind the fact that in MI old and new forms are found side by side. This holds good also for the future tense. If *kīsu* is an old inherited future form, it must go back to **kissāmi* < **kisyāmi* < **kṛṣyāmi* (vulgar form side by side with *kariṣyāmi*), and is accordingly an active form. As, however, in OI the middle future was used for the missing future passive, and moreover in MI the endings of the ātmanepada were replaced by those of the parasmaipada, *kīsu* may also go back to an earlier form *kṛṣye* (vulgar form side by side with *kariṣye*), and may accordingly be a passive future. In MI, it is true, such passive futures are extremely rare; still they are found, as shown by the forms *nivahisati*[36] and *pamokkhasi.*[37] The conclusion we arrive at is consequently that, if *kīsu* is an old form, it may be active as well as middle and passive. If, on the other hand, *kīsu* is a new form, it cannot be passive. As is well-known, the new passive futures in MI are based on the MI passive present stem, and the same applies to Apabhraṃśa.[38] OI *kriyate* shows in Apabhraṃśa two separate lines of evolution: on the one side *kriyate* > **kriyati* > **kiryati* > **kiryai* > **kirrai* > *kīrai*, and on the other side *kriyate* > **kriyati* > **kiryati* > **kirjai* > *kijjai*, late Ap. *kījai, kīai.*[39] Passive futures in

[31] P. L. Vaidya, *Kumārapālacarita*, p. 280.

[32] A. N. Upadhye, *Paramātmaprakāśa* and *Yogasāra* (Bombay, 1937), p. 302.

[33] A. N. Upadhye, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[34] R. Pischel, *Materialien*, p. 21; idem., *Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, p. 368, § 533.

[35] L. Alsdorf, *Apabhaṃśa Studien*, p. 63.

[36] M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of inscriptional Prakrits* (Poona, 1948), p. 202, § 357b.

[37] R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, p. 367, § 549.

[38] L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the grammar of Old West Rājasthānī," *IA*, 1914-16, p. 123, § 136; *ibidem*, p. 22.

[39] R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, p. 374, § 547; L. P. Tessitori, *OWR*, p. 123, § 137.

Apabhraṃśa are formed from these stems by adding the usual suffixes *-sa* and *-ha*, e.g., *kijjasami / kīra-sami*, which suggest older forms like **kirja-sāmi / *kīra-sāmi*, but in no case **kirjsāmi / *kiry-sāmi* which are historically impossible. Theoretically possible would be a development *kijjasami* > **kījasami* > **kīyasami* > **kīasami* > **kīisami* > **kīsami* > *kīsu*.[40] But this could be only a much later development which cannot yet be assumed for the language treated by Hemacandra. These considerations impel us to conclude that *kīsu* must be an old form representing OI *kṛṣyāmi, kṛṣye* (middle), *kṛṣye* (passive). However rare the old passive futures in MI may be, yet in the case of the root *kṛ-* we have to reckon with this possibility, in spite of the fact that a form like *kīsu* would be a characterless passive. The point is that in Apabhraṃśa *kijjai* 'to be made' was also used in the meaning of 'to become,' and accordingly was considered an intransitive verb, not a passive verb.[41] In this way it is to be explained that *kīsu* as a passive form survived in Apabhraṃśa, in just the same way as *dṛśye* 'to be seen, to be visible' survived as *dīsu*.[42] Consequently *kīsu* can be as well 'I shall make' (act. and middle) as 'I shall be made' (pass.) and 'I shall become' (intr.).

The above conclusions, *viz.*, that the idiom *bali kijjaũ* expresses an idea of respect, love, devotion etc. and that *kīsu*, which by Hemacandra is equated with *kijjaũ*, can be active as well as middle and passive, enables us to draw some further conclusions. The view taken by Pischel that *bali kijjaũ* should mean 'to pay homage to' is as a fact rather near the meaning 'to respect' as shown above, but still cannot be correct. For this meaning is based on the OI idiom *baliṃ kṛ-* 'to pay one's tribute, to pay one's tribute of respect' and presupposes a similar use in Apabhraṃśa.[43] However, in Apabhraṃśa the idiom *bali karai* does not represent OI *baliṃ kr-*, i.e. verb with object, but is a nominal compound and means 'to sacrifice.'[44] This is clearly seen from an occurrence in the *Bhavisattakahā* of Dhanapāla (307,1): *jai, sundari, haũ ehau karemi | to appau bhūahā bali karemi* 'If, O beautiful one, I do this, then I sacrifice myself to the bhūtas.'[45] In the passive the turn is found in the *Sañjamañjarī* of Mahesarasūri (33): *jo saṃtavai aṇudiyahā chavvihajivanikāu | narayanibandhanakammarau, bali kijjau so kāu* 'that body, which, enjoying deeds leading to hell, daily torments the aggregation of the six jīvas, let it be sacrificed.'[46] In the ppp. the turn is found in the *Jasaharacariu* of Puṣpadanta (II 25, 8): *bali kiu mahu rajju duhohakhāni | jaṃ jhatti parattaho karai hāni* 'sacrificed is my kingdom, a mine of sorrow, which so suddenly lost its greatness,'[47] and in the *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Joindu (II 147): *bali kiu maṇusa jammaḍa, dekhantahā para sāru* 'sacrificed is the human body, only to see it is important.'[48] In the last instances *bali kiu* may represent another idiom, viz. OI *balīkriyate* 'to be considered a mere bali.'[49] However this may be, from the very fact that *bali karai* in Apabhraṃśa is a nominal compound follows that the idiom cannot convey the meaning 'to pay one's tribute of respect to someone,' and that consequently the turn *bali kijjaũ* in the stanzas concerned must be a passive turn. This being stated, it is easy to situate the idiom in its historical context: the idiom *bali kijjaũ* is as a fact the forerunner of Hindī *bali jāũṇ / hojāũṇ*, Urdū *qurbān jāũṇ / hojāũn* 'may I become the sacrifice of,' which is used in the meanings mentioned above.

It remains to be discussed how Hemacandra came to equate *kīsu*, which is a future, with *kriye*, which is a present, and indirectly with Ap. *kijjaũ* which likewise is a present. This is the more remarkable as he dealt with the formation of the future in Apabhraṃśa right before his *sūtra kriyeḥ kīsu*, so that we cannot dismiss the question by assuming that he did not know the suffixes of the future. On the other hand it is strange that he should call *kīsu* an *ādeśa*, whereas he calls *kijjaũ* a *tadbhava*. Actually Hemacandra proves to be familiar with the turn *bali kijjaũ* very well. One

[40] L. P. Tessitori, *OWR*, p. 125, § 138, 2.

[41] See Puspadanta, *Mahāpurāṇa*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Vol. II (Bombay, 1940), p. 424, ch. LXXII, 11, 1-6.

[42] R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, p. 372, § 541.

[43] See *PW* s. v. *bali* 1, cf. *balikara, -karman, -kṛt*.

[44] S. H. Kellog, *A Grammar of the Hindī language* (London, 1938), p. 271 ff., § 448 ff.

[45] *Bhavisattakahā*, ed. H. Jacobi (München, 1918), p. 104.

[46] *Sañjamamañjarī*, ed. P. D. Gune, *ABORI*, 1919-20, Vol. I, part 2, p. 163.

[47] *Jasaharacariu*, ed. P. L. Vaidya (Karañja, 1931), p. 38.

[48] Joindu, *Paramātmaprakāśa*, p. 291.

[49] See *PW* s. v. *balīkar-* 'zur Huldigungsgabe machen, -bestimmen': the stanzas concerned will be discussed in *Ap. Studies (V)*.

might be inclined to assume, as has been done by Pischel, that Hemacandra took *kīsu* as an equivalent of *kijjaũ* because he found it used in a same context as *kijjaũ*.[50] But such an assumption cannot be proved and is little satisfying. The solution of this question must, in my opinion, be looked for elsewhere, namely in the fact that Hemacandra explains Apabhraṃśa forms by Sanskrit forms. In other words: Ap. *kijjaũ* is morphologically equal to OI *kriye*, but not semantically. We must assume for the Apabhraṃśa of Hemacandra's time that the OI present had already lost its old meaning and taken the meaning of the NIA present tense.[51] So, in his mind, *kīsu* was very similar in meaning to *kijjaũ*. In trying to explain *kijjaũ* Hemacandra had to equate it with OI *kriye*, though strictly speaking the latter did not convey that sense.

In her treatise on the Prakrit grammarians Luigia Nitti-Dolci has drawn attention to the fact that in the Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra a new atmosphere is to be observed probably due to the invasions of the Muslims.[52] In the linguistic field, if the assumption is correct, some changes might be expected, too. There can be no doubt that the turn *bali kijjaũ* is one of the new traits of the Apabhraṃśa language, and that it has been borrowed from Persian.[53] So a new element comes to join the linguistic materials which lead to the formation of Apabhraṃśa, as might have been expected after the Muslim Abdul Rahman wrote his *Saṃdeśarāsaka*.[54] The Apabhraṃśa language stands on the border of two linguistic worlds: on the one side the old world represented by OI and Prakrit, which is ending, and, on the other, a new world represented by NIA which is starting. Foreign elements have contributed to its formation, the extent of which has still to be assessed. Yet so much can be stated so far that Dravidisms[55] and Persianisms are to be counted among them. In approaching grammatical problems in Apabhraṃśa this must be kept in view at the risk of making serious mistakes. The Indian commentators, who turned the Apabhraṃśa text into Sanskrit and, moreover, made use of the chāyā, were bound to fail in their translation at crucial moments. When they render *bali kijjaũ* by *baliṃ kriye*, they take the point of view of Sanskrit, which is wrong; when they translate by *baliḥ kriye*, they start from the right point but give a rendering that in Sanskrit conveys a different meaning. Nearer to the truth, as is evident now, was that commentator who rendered *bali kijjaũ* by *bali kriye*,[56] but this again is no Sanskrit. In things like this the chāyā has only a limited and relative value, and in fact the paraphrases by the commentators are of much more importance to the investigator. The standpoint of Pischel, too, who had no access to NIA materials, was bound to lead to linguistic anachronisms.

As has been stated in the beginning of this study Pischel came to take *kijjaũ* in active meaning also under the influence of the theory of the 'passivum pro activo.' Accordingly it is necessary to consider whether *kijjai* in itself can convey an active meaning and, if so, how this and similar seemingly passive forms have to be explained.

There is in fact sufficient evidence to show that *kijjai* can be used in an active sense. In classical Apabhraṃśa, it is true, *kijjai* does not seem to be used in this way and the only occurrence that I came across is found in the more popular *Dohākoṣa*, viz.,*DKK* 20 *aiso so ṇivvāṇo bhaṇijjai | jahi maṇa māṇasa kiṃ pi ṇa kijjai* 'that state is called nirvāna, in which the mind does not perform anything of the mind,' where the syntax of the sentence shows *kijjai* to be active in meaning.[57] In the *Prākṛtapiṅgalasūtras*, however, which represent a somewhat later type of Apabhraṃśa, *kijjai* in active sense seems quite normal and figures side by side with *karai* (*karei*) and *kuṇai* (*kuṇei*). This is evidenced by PPS I 33 *mitta-bhicca jujjha nibbhaa jaya kijjai* 'a *mitra-bhṛtya* (– – –|– ⏑ ⏑ or ⏑ ⏑ ⏑|– – –) makes security and victory in battle,' and implicitly by I 82 *so saṃpaa dijjau, bahusuha kijjau tuhma Bhavānīkanta* 'may the beloved of Bhavānī give you wealth and make you happy'; II 59 *cāri hāra kijjahi, tini gandha*

[50] R. Pischel, *Siddhahema*, Vol. II, p. 202.

[51] Cf. L. P. Tessitori, *OWR*, p. 78, § 117.

[52] Luigia Nitti-Dolci, *Les Grammairiens prakrits* (Paris, 1938), p. 177.

[53] See F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, s. v. *qurbān*.

[54] Abdul Rahman, *Saṃdeśarāsaka*, ed. Jina Vijaya Muni and H. Bhayani (Bombay, 1945).

[55] See my article "A dravidian turn in Apabhraṃśa," *JRAS*, April, 1954.

[56] See above the chāyā to *Materialien* XVIII, discussed by Pischel, p. 55.

[57] *Dohākoṣa*, ed. P. Ch. Bagchi (Calcutta, 1938), p. 43; M. Shahidullah, *Les Chants mystiques de Kānha et Saraha* (Paris, 1928), p. 77.

dijjahi 'make four long syllables, give three short syllables'; II 255 *hāra ekka dijjahi, susadda paa kijjahi* 'give one long syllable, make a correct pāda.'[58]

As seen from the latter examples the feature is not confined to the root *kṛ-*. Similar seemingly passive forms are found of the roots *dā-* (:*dijjai*), *lā-* (:*lijjai*), *bhū-* (*hojjai*) and *labh-* (:*labbhai*). Apart from the instances already quoted *dijjai* is evidenced by PPS I 32 *ya-gaṇa suha saṃpaa dijjai* 'the *ya-gaṇa* (⏑ – –) gives happiness and wealth'; I 33 *mitta-mitta riddhi-buddhi aru maṅgala dijjai* 'a *mitra-mitra* (– – –|⏑ ⏑ ⏑) gives success, insight and good luck'; I 136 *anta paohara dīja* 'at the end give (*dīja* < *dijja* : *dijjai*) a *payodhara*' (⏑ – –); II 206 *anta dijja gandhavaṇṇa* 'at the end give (*dijja* : *dijjai*) a short syllable'; II 231 *āi ra-gaṇa dijjahu* 'in the beginning give a *ra-gaṇa* (– ⏑ –); II 280 *so tuma Rāhava dijjau ṇibbhaa* 'may he, the descendant of Raghu, give you security'; II 106 *so tuha Saṃkara dijjau sokkha* 'may he, Śaṅkara, give (*dijjau* < **dijja-tu* : *dijjai*) you happiness.' An active form *lijjai* (:OI *lā-*) is proved by PPS I 107 *ekka lahu lijjasu* 'take one short syllable' (*lijjasu* < **lijja-su* : *lijjai*). Seemingly passive forms of *labh-* and **kar-* are found in DKS 14 *joesu jo na hoi saṃtuṭṭho, mokkha ki labbhai jhāna-paviṭṭho* 'he, who is not satisfied with *yoga*, does he acquire *moksha* by entering into meditation?' (*labbhai* < *labhyai* : *labhai*) and DKS 65 *appaṇu marii sa ki kariai* 'what does he achieve by killing himself?' (*kariai* < *karyai* : *karai*).[59] For *hojjai* which is attested by the grammarians as a side-form of *hoi* already for Prakrit, indirect evidence is furnished by SD 224 *bhavi bhavi hojjau ehu* 'may that occur in every existence' (*hojjau* < **hojja-tu* : *hojjai*), where *hojjau* can only be explained as imperative of *hojjai*.[60] Otherwise forms in *-hi*, *-hu* and *-su* (like *hojjahi*, *-hu*, *-su*) are not conclusive: if they are old formations, they can only be optatives (with MI ending); if they are new formations, they are to be taken as imperatives to new present bases (*hojja-*). Likewise *dijjahi* (*-hu*) in BhK 49,7 *ekkavara muadaṃsanu dijjahu* 'give me once the sight of your face,' and 240,9 *mahu kantaho jaṅghabalu dijjahi* 'give strength of shanks to my beloved' may be optative as well as imperative.[61] Actually Hemacandra calls *dejjahi* in SH IV 383,3 *ayahi jammahi aṇṇahi vi, Gori, su dejjahi kantu* 'O Gaurī, give me in this and other births such a husband' an optative (*saptamī*).[62] However these forms may be judged, the result of the linguistic development implied is shown in the PPS. Here we find, on the one hand, new past participles passive built on these new present bases, viz. *kijjai* : *kijjia*; *dijjai* : *dijjia*; *lijjai* : *lijjia*, which proves that *kijjai, dijjai, lijjai* were considered active present bases;[63] on the other hand a new imperative *kijja* (> *kīja*) regularly derived from *kijjai*, which shows that in PPS forms like *kijjahi* and *kijjahu* are to be considered imperatives, though formally identical with the old optative forms *kijjahi* and *kijjahu*.[64]

If the above conclusions are correct, the question arises whether these formally passive forms are morphologically passive as assumed by Pischel. Passive forms with active meanings are not wholly unknown in OIA.[65] A well-known example is found in the *Pañcatantra*: *hā kaṣṭaṃ, jarasābhibhūtapuruṣaṃ putro 'py avajñāyate*, where *avajñāyate* stands for *avajānāti*.[66] But such forms are obviously solecisms in the language, as much so as the exceptional occurrences of the active for the passive. As already observed, the use of the passive for the active is against the genius of OIA and the same remark applies to MI too. In Weber's footsteps Pischel explained *gammasu* < *gamya-sva* : *gamyate; gammihisi* < *gamya-sa-si*; *labbhihi* <*labhya-si* : *labhyate*, taking them as active in meaning. In doing so Pischel probably fell a victim to some curious play of the German language. "Sehr interessant," he says, "ist dass das Praes. pass. in Mg. and Ap. zuweilen gebraucht wird im Sinne des Fut. act., also 'ich werde

[58] *The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-sūtras* with the commentary of Lakshmīnātha Bhatta, ed. Pt. Śivadatta and Kāśināth Pāndurang Parab, Kāvyamālā 41 (Bombay, 1894); *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalam*, ed. Ch. M. Ghosh, Bibl. Ind. (Calcutta, 1902); recent ed. by Bh. Sh. Vyas, Prakrit Text Society Series No. 2 (Benares, 1959).

[59] Ed. Bagchi, p. 26 and 17; ed. Shahidullah, p. 149.

[60] *Sāvayadhammadohā*, ed. H. L. Jain (Karañja, 1932), p. 66 (*hujjau* = *hojjau*).

[61] *Bhavisattakahā*, ed. H. Jacobi (München, 1918).

[62] *Siddhahema*, ed. R. Pischel, Vol. I, p. 164; II, p. 199; ed. Vaidya, p. 604.

[63] Ed. Śivadatta and Parab, pp. 75, 93, 158, 173, 180, 204, 220; ed. Ghosh, Index.

[64] *Ibidem*, p. 83 *dīja*; 157*dekkha*; 180 *dijja*; 68 *bhaṇa*.

[65] L. Renou, *Grammaire Sanskrite* (Paris, 1930), Vol. II, p. 465, § 343.

[66] *Pañcatantra*, ed. J. Hertel, Harvard Oriental Series, XI (Cambridge, Mass., 1908), p. 205, 24.

gemacht' für 'ich werde machen' gesagt wird."[67] Actually it is a rather long way from the present passive to the future active, and it is not easy to see how Pischel could adopt this view, the more so as he was very near the solution of the problem when he suggested to explains *kijjasu* as < OI *kriyās*.[68]

The form *kijjai* and other seemingly passive forms with active meaning cannot be rightly understood unless we consider the MI verbal system as a whole. From the linguistic material furnished by Pali, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa we know that MI has brought into existence some new types of present stems. One of the most interesting among these is that which is based on old past participles: type *siddhai* < **siddha-ti* side by side with *sijjhai* < *sidhyati*.[69] Another type, of rather limited application, is represented by some presents built on old future stems: type *dekkhai* < *dikkhai* < *dṛkṣyati*, and *dakkhai* < *drakṣyati* : OI *dṛś-* 'to see.'[70] To these we have now to add a third type based on old optative stems, present as well as aorist, which might be styled the type *hojjai* (<*hojja-* : OI *bhūyāt*). This type helps us to understand the seemingly passive *kijjai* and similar forms.

There is indeed some evidence to show that in MI occasionally new present stems were derived from old optatives. This development started already in Pali, as seen from the neologism *dajjami* in which Childers was the first to recognize a new present based on an old optative *dadyām*, Pali *dajjam*.[71] The fact cannot be doubted as is proved by the new optative *dajjeyya* built on that same *dajjami*. Similarly the present *kayirati* 'he makes' mentioned by Kaccāyana, as well as the imperative forms *kayirahi* and *kayirantu*, are clearly derived from *kayira* < *kariya* < *karya-* : *karyāt*, MI optative side by side with *kuriya* < *kuryāt*.[72] Several other seemingly passive forms in Pali, which hitherto have been explained as morphologically passive, are no doubt to be explained in the same way, so *chijjati* 'he cuts' (: *chijjam* < *chidyām* : *chid-*; new passive participle *chijjiyamāna*)[73] and *bhūyati* 'he becomes' (: *bhūyam* < *bhūyām* : *bhū-*).[74] For Prakrit we have the testimony of Vararuci and Hemacandra who teach that in the present, future and imperative the suffix *-jja-* may optionally be inserted between root and ending. Hemacandra exemplifies his rule with the following examples: present *hojjai, hojjāi, hojja, hojjā*, alternative *hoi*; future *hojjahii, hojjāhii*, alternative *hohii*; imperative *hojjau, hojjāu, hojja, hojjā*, alternative hou.[75] In this series the forms *hojjā, hojjāhii* and *hojjāu* make it perfectly clear that *hojjai* has been derived from the optative stem *hojja-* : OI *bhūyāt*. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that from this new present a new future could be derived : *hojja-sāmi, hojja-sam, hojja-hāmi, hojja-ham, hojja-himi* side by side with *hō-sāmi, hō-sam, ho-ssāmi, ho-ssam, hō-hāmi, hō-himi*, as well as a new present participle *hojja-māna* (with middle ending).[76] In this context a form like *hojjahi*, which originally was an optative with imperative ending, has to be explained as a regular imperative: *hojja-hi* (opt.) > new present *hojja-i* > imperative *hojja-hi*.

In the light of the above facts the form *kijjai*, when used in an active sense, becomes clear. While *kijjai*, when passive, goes back to OI *kriyate* (> *kriyati* > **kriyai* > **kirjai* > **kirjai* > *kijjai*), the active *kijjai* is to be explained as derived from OI *kriyāt* (> **kriya-* : **kriyati* > **kriyai* > **kiryai* > **kirjai* > **kijjai*), and so are the other seemingly passive forms *dijjai* : OI *deyāt* (> **deya-* > **deyyati* > **dejjati* > *dejjai* > *dijjai*); *lijjai* : OI *leyāt*; *labbhai* : OI *labhyāt*; *gammai* : OI *gamyāt* (> **gamya-* > **gamma-* > **gammai*); *kajjai* : OI *karyāt* (cf. Pali *kayira*

[67] R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākritsprachen*, p. 376, § 550.

[68] *Ibidem*, p. 330, § 46, but cf. p. 331, § 467.

[69] G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa* (Poona, 1948), p. 283; cf. F. Edgerton, *BHS Grammar and Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953), I, p. 137, § 28, 19.

[70] Differently explained by Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 379, § 554; the form *dikkhai* is found *PPS*, I, 87a and quoted by Sheth, *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, s. v. (cf. Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 61, § 66); *dikkhai* < *dṛkṣyati* is confirmed by the *BHS* backformation *dṛkṣye RP*, 46, 10.

[71] R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language*[4] (London, 1909), s. v. *dajjati*; *Kaccāyana*, ed. E. Senart (Paris, 1871), p. 458; *Saddanīti*, ed. H. Smith (Lund, 1954), V, 1 s. v. *dajjati*; cf. W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Grundriss I, 7 (Strassburg, 1916), p. 120, § 143.

[72] Ed. E. Senart, p. 441; cf. V. Trenckner, *Radices linguae Palicae in ordinem etymologicum redactae* (unedited), Royal Danish Academy (Copenhagen), s. v. *kar.*

[73] Differently W. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 139, § 176, 3.

[74] *Critical Pali Dictionary*, s. v. *abhibhūyati.*

[75] *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 91 f.; *Siddhahema*, III, 178.

[76] *Prakṛtaprakāśa*, ed. Vaidya, p. 102; ed. C. Kunhan Raja and K. R. Śarma, p. 82.

< *kariya* < **karyāt*). The remarkable *pijjai*, mentioned by Hemacandra among the substitutes of OI *pibati* 'he drinks,' receives in this way its due explanation as based on OI *peyāt* > new present **pēyati* > **peyyati* > **pejjati* > **pejjai* > *pijjai*.[77] Traces of this development are found in BHS *śakyati* : OI *śakyāt*; *ādīyati* : OI *ādeyāt*; *āhūyati* : OI *āhūyāt*; *ākhyāyati* : OI *ākhyāyāt*.[78] In MI the new type received, as it seems, some development, and even MI optatives could be made the bases of new present stems, as is seen from *karijjai* 'he makes' < *karijja-* < *karejja* (< **kareyya-* < **karēya-* : OI **karēyāt*), imperative *karijja, karīja*.[79] In the NIA languages the type is living on in Sindhī, where *hujā* 'I may be,' and the neuter verbs in *-jaṇu, -ejaṇu, -ijaṇu* directly continue the MI formation.[80]

[77] *Siddhahema*, ed. Pischel, III, 165; *hojjai* was derived from OI *bhūyāt* already by Lassen, *Inst. Pracr.*, p. 357.

[78] F. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 183, § 37, 23, whose explanation is different.

[79] *Prākṛta-Piṅgala-sūtras*, ed. Śivadatta and Parab, p. 83 *karīja, dīja*, 89 *karijjasu*; cf. *Sañjamamañjarī*, ed. P. D. Gune, *ABI* (1919-20), I 2, p. 163, vse. 31.

[80] E. Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhī Language* (London/Leipzig 1872), p. 298 *hujā* 'I may be'; p. 321 pharjaṇu 'to be fruitful' (: *pharaṇu*), *luṛhejaṇu* 'to float' (: *luṛhaṇu*), *acijaṇu* 'to come' (: *acaṇu*).

SYNTACTICAL NOTES ON ISRAELI HEBREW

DETERMINATION, INDETERMINATION, AND THE ARTICLE

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THE GENERAL OUTLINE of this paper was first presented to the Hebrew Language Section of the 2nd Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1957, with an aim to show that "the morphemic and syntactical analysis of Israeli Hebrew had for some time been unduly biased by an inappropriate conception of diachronic study, and the true relation between Israeli and Classical Hebrew had thereby become somewhat obliterated. Too much emphasis had been laid upon formal innovations. However, the status of Israeli Hebrew as a novel speech form reflects—in the truly Saussurian sense of linguistic history—an almost perfect reshuffling and regrouping of all Hebrew means of expression, including those forms that were taken over from Classical Hebrew without any external alteration whatsoever. It is through these unchanged forms that remorphemization and componential regrouping comes to light much clearer than through any other morphological items."[1]

1. The syntactical category of Israeli Hebrew which primarily consists of the contrasting members of "determination" and "indetermination" has to be established very carefully. While Biblical Hebrew is one of those languages in which the statement of a personal ("possesive") relation *ipso facto* renders determinate the noun, and certain types of proper nouns (in particular names of persons, countries and cities) likewise exclude the article *ha-* and personal suffixes, the distributional correlation of the mentioned morphemes has somewhat shifted in Israeli Hebrew. Although *ha-* and the personal suffixes are still mutually exclusive, their categorical affiliations are no longer identical.[2]

[1] See *Summaries of Papers, Section Hebrew Language*, 2nd World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 1957, p. 20.

[2] This is, of course, a direct result of the absorption by the Israeli Hebrew syntactical system, of grammatical elements inherited from Post-Biblical (Middle) Hebrew. The categorial shift is most convincingly shown by the position of the pronoun *ʔoto* (m. sg.), *ʔota* (f. sg.) etc. "that (same)." In Israeli Hebrew, we find the following contrast: *ʔoto sus* "that horse" / *ʔoto ha-sus* "the same horse," which shows that *ʔoto* etc. is not in complementary distribution with *ha-*; it excludes, however, a personal suffix. This situation therefore shows the existence of the following syntactical categories (for details cp. my *Ha-ivrit šelánu*, pp. 206-207): a. one that includes *ʔoto* and the personal suffixes, but not *ha-*; b. one that includes *ha-* and the personal suffixes, but not *ʔoto*. Category (a) may be termed "determination," (b)—"identification"; a personal suffix, which belongs to

2.0. The category of determination ordinarily contains two members expressing the contents of "determinated" vs. "undeterminated." The expression of this semantic contact is:

	"Determinated"		"Undeterminated"	
1.	(prefixed) *ha-* "def. art."		*Ø-*	} as in all periods of Hebrew
2. a.	(infixed) *-ha-* "def. art."		*-Ø-*	} as in all periods of Hebrew
b.	*Ø*		*mi-*	"article partitif"
c.	*Ø*		minus *ha-*	

We shall discuss in the following the conditions in which each of the mentioned morpheme pairs, and in particular 2b-c, occurs.

2.1. The infixation of *-ha-* takes place with nominal compounds. The morphological expression of nominal composition is the use of the construct state form. But not all constructions with a construct noun are nominal compounds; there exist characteristic contrasts, as can be seen in particular from the forms construed with the construct state of an action noun; such forms may be either (a) compounds or (b) nominal syntagms, a syntactical feature which has been demonstrated elsewhere[3] in detail. Any adjunct, including a determinative morpheme, joins, in case (a) the compound as a whole, in case (b) the second member of the syntagm.[4] It will be presently shown that, with some of the Israeli Hebrew construct state constructions, the *ha-/Ø-* contrast is no longer applicable.

2.21. Very frequently, when the expression of "determinated" vs. "undeterminated" is not practicable with a construct state construction or a form with a personal suffix, the Israeli Hebrew speaker resorts to a comparatively simple means to circumvent the difficulty: he replaces the construct state construction by a prepositional circumlocution, mostly with the genitival *šel-* "of," *e.g.* whereas *x[a]ver-i* "my friend" would be automatically determinated (as e.g. in English), the genitival circumlocution *xaver šel-i* "friend of mine" would permit the expression of a contrast of determination: *ha-xaver šel-i* (lit. "the friend of mine," "il mio amico") / *Ø-xaver šel-i* "a friend of mine," "un mio amico"; or, in a nominal construct the second component of which is a proper noun (e.g. *Tel?aviv*), determinated semantically, but not morphologically, thereby excluding the possibility of morphological indetermination, contrasts like the following occur:

rxovot	*Tel?aviv*	} "the streets of Tel-Aviv; Tel-Aviv's streets"
ha-rxovot	*šel-Tel?aviv*	}
rxovot	*šel-Tel?aviv*	"streets of T.; Tel-Aviv streets."

2.22. But, as has been shown elsewhere on several occasions,[5] very frequently the construct form and the genitive construction are semantically contrastive (stock example: *pinkas-xaver* "membership card" /*pinkas šel-xaver* "booklet of a member"). In such cases, the application of the *(–)ha-/(–)Ø-* contrast is not feasible if the second component of the construction is self-determinated (§ 2.21). This is principally the case in compounds, since composition cannot be expressed by *šel-* (§ 2.1).

2.31. It appears from the above that, whenever the second component of a nominal construct is a proper noun and—for any reason whatsoever—the genitive construction cannot be applied, *(–)ha-* / *(–)Ø-* cannot be used as an expression of the "determinated" / "undeterminated" opposition. In some cases, however, the proper noun concerned has the first syllable *ha-*, since it is, in fact, a formerly determinated noun developed into a proper noun, as e.g. *The Park*.

Typical example: a. *histadrut* "organization";

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both (a) and (b), is consequently a determinator-identifier; *?oto* is an identifier; *ha-* is a determinator.

[3] *BSL*, 53 (1957-58), I, 325-335; cf. my *Ivrit tova*, pp. 170 ff.

[4] *BSL*, 53 (1957-58), I, 326, note 1, and I, 339, note 3.

For the different situation in Biblical Hebrew cf. Gesenius (tr. Cowley), *Hebrew Grammar*, pp. 410 ff.; Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, pp. 430 ss.; Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, pp. 67 ff.

[5] See references in note 3.

Hahistadrut developed into a proper noun designating "The General Labor Federation"; b. *xaver* (cp. § 2.21) means, if used with *šel-*, "friend of, sympathizer of," but if used in a nominal construct —"member of, -member": *x[a]ver-Hahistadrut* "the member of the Histadrut; the Histadrut member." To undeterminate such construction, the *-ha-* which, in fact, forms part of the proper noun, is dropped:

determinated: $\emptyset$ + *x[a]ver-Hahistadrut*
"the member of the H."

undeterminated: /minus ha- + x[a]ver-Hahistadrut/ = [x[a]ver-Histadrut]
"a member of the H."

Further examples:

1. *Yom-Haʔacmaʔut* "Independence Day"; "I had a nice Independence Day" is expressed by *haya li yom-ʔacmaʔut* (/minus ha- + yom-Haʔacmaʔut/) *naʔim*.

2. *Xag-Hamolad* (lit. "the Feast of the Nativity") "Christmas"; "a Christmas carol" = *šir xag-Molad* (/minus -ha-/ "a" + *šir* "song of" + *xag-Hamolad* "Christmas").

3. *Xilul-Šem* "a blasphemy"; "components: /minus -ha-/ "a," *xilul-* "profanation of," *Hašem* "the (Sacred) Name (of God)."[6]

2.321. The "article partitif" *mi-* (< "from; out of") appears before plural nominal constructs, if

1. that construction cannot be circumlocuted prepositionally (by genitival *šel-* etc.), and

2. the second component is self-determinated (§§ 2.21, 2.22), but has no *ha-* that could be "substracted" (§ 2.31).

Typical example: *bne-mišpaxta* "the members of her family" / *mi-bne-mišpaxta* "des membres de sa famille; members of her family." According to § 1, the personal suffix *-a* "3rd sg. f." is no formal determinator in the sense *ha-* is (although *mišpaxta* "her family" is self-determinated); furthermore *ben-* (construct) "member of" cannot be replaced by *ben* (abs.) *šel-* which only stands for "boy of."[7]

The limitation of *mi-* to plural expressions is consistent with its emergence out of a real partitive preposition, e. g.:

A.		B.	
ha-susim	"the horses"	*bne-mišpaxta*	"the members of her family"
šloša susim or *šloša mi-ha-susim*	"three (of the) horses"	*šloša mi-bne-mišpaxta*	"three members of her family"
káma susim or *káma mi-ha-susim*	"some (of the) horses"	*káma mi-bne-mišpaxta*	"some members of her family"
susim	"horses"	*mi-bne-mišpaxta*	"members of her family"

The element *ʔexad* "one" is obligatory with the constructs under discussion, whenever the nominal syntagm is the agent of a singular verb: *baʔ ʔexad mi-bne-mišpaxta* "one of the members of her family came."

The crucial point is whether *mi-* has the function of the preposition or not. Whereas *mi-ha-susim* (type A) can never be replaced by a prepositionless noun, *mi-bne-mišpaxta* (type B) will frequently fulfil the function of such noun (i. e. function as "nominative," "accusative," or apposition). Moreover, the following examples will show that very frequently the syntactical type B cannot be replaced by a noun with the preposition *mi-* "from," i. e. in such cases, *mi-* is definitely no longer a preposition, but an indefinite article.

Whenever such form—unless preceded by *ʔexad* "one"—fulfils the function of a nominative, the verb is in plural in concord with the plural form of the nominal construct: *bein ha-rišonim lo hayu* (3rd pl. m.-f.) *mi-bne-mišpaxta* "among the first (i. e. to come) were not members of her family";[8] *be-mišpat ze hofiʔu* ("appeared," 3rd pl. m.-f.) *mi-tove-ha-moxot* (components: *tov* "good," *moxot* pl. of *moax* "brain") *ha-mišpatiyim ba-ʔárec* "in this trial there appeared some of the best legal minds of the country"[8] (a prepositional circumlocuation of *tove-ha-moxot* is impossible); *tenu-*

[7] Details in *Ivrit Tova*, p. 141.

[6] More examples in *Ivrit Tova*, pp. 169 ff.

[8] Extracted from *Haárec* (daily paper). Similar example: *mištatfim mi-tove-ha-saxkanim* "some of the best actors take part."

gánna (3rd pl. fem.) *mi-ycirot bétoven* "works by Beethoven will be played."[9] The construction is obviously the same as in French: *étaient des membres de sa famille; des œuvres de B. seront joués* etc.[9a]

2.322. The following examples were not chosen in order to illustrate the phenomenon described, but represent the complete inventory of instances of the Israeli Hebrew "article partitif" occurring in two consecutive stretches of sample texts; this secures our conclusion that the *mi-* form is, in fact, limited to the morphological conditions set out in the foregoing paragraph and thus represents a conditioned allomorph in relation to another form, which—in this case—is the undeterminating zero contrasting *ha-*.

Sample text No. I (Newspaper):[10]

Niftar Š. T. mi-meyasde-Telʔaviv "the death occurred of Š. T., a founder (one of the founders) of Tel-Aviv"; the components are: *meyasde-*, m. pl. construct form of a participle "founding," and *Telʔaviv*; a circumlocution with *šel-* is not practicable since a participle normally joins its object in construct state; on the other hand, the singular construct *meyased-Telʔaviv* unequivocally means "the founder of Tel-Aviv."

Y. G. . . . mi-pʔile Hakéren-hakayémet "Y. G., a functionary of the Jewish National Fund"; *pʔile-* is a m. pl. construct of *pʔil-* "agent of, functionary of" (the absolute form is practically unused in this meaning with a complement, so circumlocution is not feasible); *Hakéren-hakayémet* is the name of the fund in form of a noun-adjective construction, but since with many speakers, it is also has a construct type form (*Kéren-hakayémet*), "substraction" of *ha-* (§ 2.31) cannot serve as an expression of indeterminaion.

Šnáyem mi-poʔ[a]le ʔáta "two of the Ata (name of business firm) workers"; according to common usage, the construct is not "dissolvable" by a genitive construction.

ʔitonaʔi mi-ʔanše-Léxi lešeʔavar "a journalist, one of the former *Léxi* (name of underground movement) members"; *ʔanše-* cannot be replaced by a non-construct form, since the latter would convey a meaning of "a man employed by *Léxi*" or the like (cp. *xaver*, § 2.31).

M. L. mi-baale-beit-ha-xaróšet-le-šʔonim "M. L., an owner (one of the owners) of the watch factory"; crucial constituents: *baale-* "owners" (construct, different meaning in non-construct form), *beit-ha-xaróšet* "the factory" (a specific factory is meant, but "substraction" of *ha-* is not possible, since *beit-ha-xaróšet* has not become a proper noun (§ 2.31).

Šloša mi-tošave-Kfar-ʔóno "three inhabitants of Kfar-Ono"; in current usage, *tošave-* is not replaceable by a non-construct form.

Sample text No. II (Novel):[11]

Šloša mi-xavre-Kvucat-Maagan "three members of Kvutzat-Maagan (name of collective settlement)"; see § 2.31 and foregoing examples

Mʔat mi-korot-xayav "a bit of his life-story"; components: *korot-* (not used unless in pl. constr.) "events, history of," *xayav*, containing a 3rd sg. m. suffix of determinating power, "his life."

2.323. The emergence of the "article partitif" in Israeli Hebrew is an internal development of Hebrew and has nothing to do with any of the parallel constructions that might exist in one of the native languages of the immigrants to Israel. In fact, of all "former" languages of the Israelis, it seems to exist in French only, a language that has so far had only very little impact upon the syntactical structure of Israeli Hebrew. As we have outlined in the introduction to this article, this is the remodeled use of formal means of expression which were in existence already in Biblical Hebrew; but this applies to form only, not to function nor to syntactival behavior.

The agent of a verbal clause is sometimes apparently expressed by a *mi-* form in Biblical Hebrew, but it is clear that, in these cases, the meaning is really partitive (i.e. *Ø-mi-* "some of, one of," cp. § 2.321). Except one textually corrupt case (Dan. 11:35), the verb is in m. sg., in concord with the governing zero, and not in concord with the noun following *mi-*, as is the case in Israeli Hebrew

[9] Radio announcer.

[9a] While this article was in proof, Henri Frei's "Tranches homophones," *Word*, 16 (1960), 317 ff., appeared; the French *article partitif* is there analysed on ground of very similar criteria and I wish to draw attention to the parallelism of the syntactical behavior of *mi-* and French *des*.

[10] All local news pages (p. 4) of *Haárec* from July 14 to 21, 1957.

[11] Palgi, *Ruax gdola báʔa*, pp. 1-50.—It will be noted that the frequency of occurrence of this construction is much higher in non-literary style (newspaper).

(§ 2.231).[12] Above all, the noun following *mi-* is, in Biblical Hebrew, of any form, and no morphological conditions can be established to show that—in the said conditions—*mi-* is an alternant of another form; in Israeli Hebrew, however, the use of the *mi-* construction with verb-noun concord is restricted to well-defined morphological conditions (§ 2.321); here it is consequently in complementary distribution with the zero morph that contrasts *ha-*, i. e. it has become an allomorph of the indefinite article by no alteration of form, but by virtue of an altered distribution.

The categorical situation described in § 1 does, of course, not apply to those cases where neither the personal suffixes nor *ha-* are in contrast with zero. In certain constructions and with certain nouns, the non-appearance of a *Ø*-affix (i. e. the appearance of either *ha-* or a personal affix) is mechanically entailed. Let us here list the major types of such nouns or constructions (some of which may be familiar from other linguistic systems):

3.11. Many kinship terms (e. g. *ʔav* "father") occur in the following constructions: a. followed by a personal suffix, b. followed by a personal suffix which, on its part, is followed by an epexegetical apposition specifying the identity of the pronominal element ("extended construct state"), c. in a construct state construction,—but not before *šel-*.[13] *Ha-* will consequently not occur with such kinship terms if a "possessor" is stated. On the meaning of *ha-ʔav* etc. (which no genitival complement) see § 3.2.

3.12. Certain other cases have been described[14] where a noun (again frequently of the "inseparable possession" category) carrying a personal suffix enters into a syntactical construction with a verb, e. g. 1. *roš-i koʔev* "my head aches," 2. *lib-i nišbar* "my heart breaks." Frequently, these cases are either idiomatic (2), i. e. none of the components of the noun-verb group (*lib-* "–'s heart," *nišbar* "breaks") can be replaced by another element (unless by a specific stylistically different equivalent); many, but mainly the non-idiomatic ones (1) have an alternate construction considered as being on a lower stylistic level and, maybe, formed on a German or Yiddish pattern: *ha-roš koʔev l-i*, lit. "der Kopf tut mir weh."[15]

In either case, it appears that phrases like *roš-i koʔev, lib-i nišbar* cannot be dissolved into immediate constituents, one of which would be the verb, but structurally as well as semantically only into:

roš- ... koʔev "headaching" } +*-i* "1st sg."
lib- ... nišbar "heartbreak" } (or any other personal affix)

In such syntactical situations, the second constituent being indispensable, i. e. not replaceable by zero, it again appears that the noun concerned (e. g. *roš*) does not occur without an affix. Here again, the substitution for the personal affix, of *ha-* is possible and its semantic function shall presently be discussed.

3.2. In both types (§§ 3.11, 3.12), the categories of "identification" and "determination" (§ 1, footnote) seem to have merged into one,[16] whose members appear from the following paradigm, where *N* stands for any noun coming under §§ 3.11, 3.12:

[12] In Biblical Hebrew, the verbal form may also be in concord with *Ø* of plural meaning, e. g. *yāṣʔū min-hāʿām* (Ex 16:27), but here the noun is in singular, so again no concord exists between the noun and the verb. Characteristic example (noun in f. sg., verb in m. sg.): *ʔim-yippōl miś-śaʿaraṯ roːšo*: *ʔárṣā* (Kittel-Kahle query whether *miś-śaʿarōṯ*, pl., should be read) "if (something) of the hair(s) of his head falls down to earth" (ISam 14:45). Of all Biblical grammars, the most lucid treatment of the question will be found in Brockelmann, op. cit., pp. 30 f. A more extensive collection of examples, however not unexceptionally appropriate, may be found in König, *Lehrgebäude* (*Syntax*), p. 350; König, op. cit., p. 28, refers to "Olof Moline (Prep. *min*, Upsala 1893)," which has not been accessible to me, and reports that the mentioned author states on p. 14, that "sich Analogien der Entwicklung partitiven Sinnes im lat.-franz. *de* darböten."

[13] Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, pp. 111s. and literature quoted there; cf. my remarks in *Ivrit Tova*, pp. 142 ff., *BSL, l. c.*, *Lingua* . . . .

[14] *Ivrit Tova*, pp. 173 f., *BSL, l. c.*

[15] A 'calque' of the Indo-European 'symathetic'-dative construction; cf. *Lingua*, 8 (1959), 277 ff.

[16] For the notion of determination-identification with "unseparably possessed" objects cf. in particular Baader, *Die identifizierende Funktion der Ich-Deixis*, p. 14, who bases himself on C. C. Uhlenbeck and Lévy-Bruhl, and *Lingua, loc. cit.*

1.-2.		*-i* "1st sg. m.-f."
3.		*-xa* "2nd sg. m."
4.		*-ex* "2nd sg. f."
.....	*N*	.....
12.		*-an* "3rd pl. f."
13. *ha-* "X"		

The paradigm 1-13 being complete (exhaustive), it results by deduction that "X" must be everything not signified by personal affixes, that is necessarily an unspecified person.

This theoretical assumption is perfectly borne out by any occurrence of *ha-* in such constructions, *e. g.*:

a. 1. *kše-ʔani kore ʔ harbe, roš-i koʔev* "when I read much, my head aches"
2. *kše-ʔata kore ʔ harbe, roš-xa koʔev* "when you (m.) read much, your head aches"
3. *kše- korʔim harbe, ha-roš koʔev* "when one reads much, one's (his) head aches"

b. 1. *kše-ʔani roʔe ʔet-ze, lib-i nišbar* "when I see this, my heart breaks"
kše-roʔim ʔet-ze, ha-lev nišbar "when one sees this, one's (his) heart breaks"

c. 7. *ʔanáxnu crixim lexabed ʔet-ʔavíinu* "we must honor our father"
13. *ʔanáxnu crixim lexabed ʔet-ha-ʔav* "one must honor one's (his) father"

Ha- thus appears to represent the possessive form of the "general" person (the inaptly so-called "impersonal") "one, Fr. on, Germ. man." This is the Israeli Hebrew solution of a notoriously uncomfortable syntactical problem (cp. the English fluctuation between *one's, his* and occasionally *their*; French occasionally zero: *il me fault, il te faut, . . .* "impers." *il faut* "one has to"; German *ein-*: *es tut einem der Kopf weh*; etc.).

This solution seems to have been fostered by the fact that, in the "*man*"-form, the two stylistically distinguished constructions (§ 3.12) coincide. If, in the construction *ha-roš koʔev l-i* "der Kopf tut mir weh," the dative (*l-*) of the personal pronoun (*-i*) is transferred to the "impersonal," i. e. the pronoun replaced by zero (which entails the dropping altogether of the dative prefix *l-*), we again have *ha-roš koʔev* "one's head aches."[17]

On the other hand, the type *ha-roš koʔev, ha-lev nišbar, crixim lexabed ʔet-ha-ʔav* can by no means be analyzed as though it had emerged by dropping a possessor *šel-N* in the "impersonal," since it is the very characteristics of the nouns concerned here that they reject the construction *ha- . . . šel-N* (§ 3.11).

4. To come back to the point of principle raised in the introductory paragraph of this study, it again appears that although constructions like *ha-lev nišbar* contain morphologically nothing but elements inherited from earlier layers of Hebrew and are even consistent with pre-Israeli syntactical patterns, still—as a consequence of their altogether new correlations with other linguistic elements—they no longer maintain their previous syntactical status; neither a description of Israeli Hebrew determination in terms of *ha-/Ø-* nor one of Israeli Hebrew *ha-* as a definite article would be an exhaustive or appropriate statement; the preservation of Classical elements and forms goes along with a perfect remorphemicization and a totally new syntactical categorization.

[17] Some other occasional "impersonal" uses of *ha-* with nouns of this class include its occurrence in official forms, e. g. *šem ha-ʔav* "father's name," or in condolatory notices, e. g. "the father's decease."

NEW EVIDENCE FOR BELOMANCY IN ANCIENT PALESTINE AND PHOENICIA

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IN TWO SEPARATE COMMUNICATIONS which appeared in the BULLETIN of the American Schools of Oriental Research in 1954 and 1956 we were told of some recently discovered inscribed arrow-heads from ancient Palestine and Phoenicia.

In 1954, Frank M. Cross and J. T. Milik[1] jointly discussed three newly found javelin-heads of bronze bearing identical inscriptions and written vertically in a very early "conventionalized" alphabetic script. The first two letters read *ḥṣ* (= arrow-head) followed by *'bdlb't* (*'abdulabi't*), "Servant of the Lioness," a personal name epigraphically well attested. As it turned out these arrow-heads were part of a hoard which included 26 uninscribed bronze javelin-heads discovered by a *fellâḥ* at el-Khadr, a village 5 km. west of Bethlehem. All are of approximately the same type, with variations in size and thickness,—leaf-shaped, oblong with a central flat rib—and are characteristic of either the Late Bronze or the beginning of the Iron Age. With regard to the three inscribed arrow-heads, all lines of evidence, including paleography, converge on a date not later than about 1100 B. C.

Later Abbé Milik came across another inscribed arrow-head of bronze, which was found by a *fellâḥ* of the Biqâ' in Lebanon.[2] This is essentially the same type of arrow-head. The only striking difference, however, is that its tip is very blunt, looking like the ground edge of a spatula. The early standardized Phoenician alphabetic script runs from right to left and is deeply incised on both sides of the central rib. On this arrow-head, too, the first two letters are *ḥṣ* and the rest of the inscription, as read by Milik, yields a personal name *Zakkur bin Bin'ana*. The script points to about 1000 B. C. but it may be somewhat earlier or a little later.

Still another Phoenician specimen of the same type, the Ruweiseh Arrowhead, was until recently the only bronze arrow-head with an alphabetic inscription known to us; it was published in 1926 by S. Ronzevalle and likewise exhibits a personal name, *'Ada' bin 'Aky*, following the word *ḥeṣ*. On strictly paleographic grounds Dr. Cross would assign it to about the eleventh century B. C.[3]

Since nearly all the names of the owners of the arrow-heads or their patronymics "happen also to figure on Ugarit census-lists of bowmen," it appeared to the authors that "if it is not pure coincidence, this may be an indication that a hereditary and/or mercenary archer class existed very early in the Canaanite lands."[4] Father Milik goes even further in his second article by stating that "the proper names inscribed on the various javelin- and arrow-heads suggest the existence of a body of mercenary soldiers whose traditions go back at least to the 14th century or even until Hyksos times."

Although we cannot altogether dismiss the possibility that the occurrence of such similar names may be due to pure coincidence, it is even more difficult to assume, *a priori*, the existence of a hereditary class of archers scattered over a comparatively large area and surviving many political upheavals and dislocations for a period of more than 300 years. However, it seems to this writer that another, more immediate archeological aspect has been overlooked, namely, the function of these inscribed arrow-heads. What were they used for? What was the purpose of inscribing a standardized legend on bronze arrow-heads? Were they used as ordinary weapons in warfare, in hunting, or, shall we say, perhaps in archery contests with the inscribed name providing identification of the respective owner? Then why are all these different names preceded by the word חץ? What does this signify?

Inscribed bronze tools or weapons are known from before as well as after this period; cf. the adze of Ras-Shamra, the knife of Tabor, the Lachish dagger, and the like. Our attention has

[1] "Inscribed Javelin-heads from the Period of the Judges: A Recent Discovery in Palestine," *BASOR*, 134 (1954), 5-15.

[2] "An Unpublished Arrow-Head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th–10th Century B. C." *BASOR*, 143 (1956), 3-6.

[3] Milik and Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and note 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

also been called to a number of cuneiform inscribed swords from Late Bronze[5] and in the same article (note 27) Father Milik makes mention of a similar arrow-head of Babylonian provenience which bears the name of *Eulmaš-šakin-šumi* (end of 11th century). But whether these weapons or tools bearing inscriptions were to serve some practical purpose or were purely ornamental, so far as we know none as a rule specifies the name of the weapon or the tool. Why call a spade a spade?

We are, therefore, inclined to believe that the three el-Khadr arrow-heads, the Phoenician inscribed arrow-head and the Ruweiseh arrow-head, all of a similar type and all bearing the word *ḥṣ* followed by a personal name, were objects of belomancy, i.e., they were used for divination or drawing of lots by means of arrows.[6]

That this practice was widespread in antiquity is a fact which is more than sufficiently evident from various sources. It is alluded to in some of the early Mesopotamian documents, it is mentioned in the Nuzi texts, in early Biblical narratives down to the Rabbinic Aggadic materials (B. Gittin, 756:a) and pre-Islamic Arabian lore.[7]

As popular art or divination technique it belonged to the area of creative, sympathetic magic, and it was practiced at different places for a variety of specific purposes. It could be used either as a method of consulting an oracle, to prognosticate the fate of an impending campaign, business trip, and some other transaction, or as a means of obtaining decisions in a dispute, casting of lots and dividing of spoil and property. Since the belief in fate appears to be universal, while the concept of time and ages is relatively late, the rule was: "When lots are cast (*gôrāl*) the ultimate decision comes from God" (Prov. 16:33),[8] and the guilty party may be asked to admit its justice (Josh. 7:19).

But perhaps the most articulate allusion to such a practice is found in Ezekiel 21:26. While predicting the imminent fall of Jerusalem, the prophet visualizes the King of Babylon as standing at the crossroads ready to divine or to draw lots, as to which of the cities, Jerusalem or Rabbath Ammon, shall be the target of his invasion. To arrive at a decision, the King was to apply three magical formulae: *qilqal baḥiṣṣîm, šā'al batterāphîm, rā'āh bakkābhēd,* i.e., tossing or shaking (inscribed) arrows, asking an oracle of the Teraphim, and finally, divining by the liver. Jerome, in his commentary on Ezekiel, has the following remark on this passage: "The king will stand at

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[5] Cf. T. J. Meek, *BASOR*, 74 (1939), 7. In Luristan several daggers have been found bearing the names of Babylonian Kings; see on this also G. Contenau, *RA*, 28 (1931), 105-108; 29 (1932), 29, and W. Nagel, *AfO*, 19 (1960), 95-104.

[6] From the typological examination of the el-Khadr hoard it appears that these bronze weapons are elongated javelin-heads rather than normal arrow-heads. The initial attempts to read *ḥṣ* as meaning "arrow," and thus as indicating the name of the object on which it was written, is then just as accidental as the supposed word *ḥ r ṣ n* "adze" on the adze-head of Ugarit, now known to be a personal name *Ḥaruṣenu* (from a private communication by W. F. Albright).

[7] For a discussion concerning a supposed arrow oracle in old Sumerian historical texts, the passages of Urukagina and Eannatum, see W. W. Struve, *Die Frage der Existenz eines Pfeilorakels in Schumer* XXV Internationaler Orientalisten-Kongress; Vortrage der Delegation der UdSSR (Moskau 1960). See also R. T. O'Callaghan, "A New Inheritance Contract From Nippur" *JCS*, 8 (1954), 138. On the latest findings concerning "Fortune-Telling in Mesopotamia," cf. Erica Reiner in *JNES* (Jan., 1960), pp. 23 ff. While liver divination remained throughout the most celebrated means of prognostication more types of omens were current in the old Babylonian period than later. Like psephomancy—a form of divination by means of 2 dice called, respectively, *aban erēši*, "the desirable die," and *aban la erēši*, "the undesirable die"—so must also have been the divination by means of arrows just another form of casting lots referred to as *ṣalû ša pūri*—in some of the Assyrian inheritance laws. See B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, pp. 242-282; also, Driver & Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, pp. 497, 501 f. But while the main source for such information continues to be *KAV* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*) 2, 11, 14, and also *NKRA* (Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit*), 25, n. 3, a much more pertinent example subsequently became available from Nuzi texts (edited by Chiera, *Joint Expedition at Nuzi*, 5 vol.) in which the mechanics of the *pūru* usage have been in directly revealed. In two such Nuzi passages, *JEN* 196, 8 f. and *JEN* 519, 6-7, we read with E. A. Speiser, "Notes to Recently Published Nuzi Texts" *JAOS*, 55 (1935), 439, n. 28, that a field a granted *ana* GI. GAG. TAG. GA. ^{su}*išpati* "as arrows of the quiver," GI. MEŠ. GAG. TAG. GA. *ina libbi išpati* (both times with the verb *nadû*, "cast"). The custom of *pūru*, then, was based in part on the fall of arrows from a quiver. Speiser remarks there in passing that the verse of Ps. 16:6 represents "a figure of speech based on this practice," current also in Canaan. We shall return to it later in this paper.

[8] Perhaps, because of the unusual syntax of the initial clause, one should read (Prov. 16:33) *beḥēṣ yāṭîlû 'et-haggôrāl* "with an arrow they cast lots etc." Cf. I Sam. 18:11, 20:33.

the very crossroads and consult the oracle according to the ritual practice of his people, in such a way that he puts the arrows, inscribed or marked with the names of individuals, into the quiver and reshuffles them, in order that he may see whose arrow comes out and what city he should first attack. This, however, the Greeks call belomantia or rhabdomantia" (Patrologia Latina, XXV).

Of the modern commentators, Yehezkel Kaufmann[9] remarks on this passage in Ezekiel that the prophet in his vision has combined here the liver divination technique, which is typically Babylonian, with the *terāphîm* oracle and the casting of lots by arrows, which were practiced both in Canaan and in early Israel.[10]

In Arabic sources, too, we are told that 'in the times of ignorance' it was customary to seek a decision by throwing lots at a sanctuary with blunted arrows inscribed with names (*'azlâm*, Qor 5:4); these were placed in a quiver and whirled about, and the one which first fell out was supposed to express the will of the gods." The same procedure, using "headless" arrows, was also followed when procuring divine decision in cases concerning one's pedigree.[11]

The Phoenician arrow-head published by J. T. Milik, with its tip broken off and ground smooth, may well fit the above description.[12] Moreover, it appears most likely that the Hebrew simile in Jer. 9:7 *ḥēṣ šāḥûṭ lešônām mirmāh dibbēr* also suggests a flat, blunted arrow, like the bronze samples recently discovered. Read as *šḥwṭ* with *qere*, the word is used also in I Kings 10:16 and 2 Ch. 9:15, 16 as an adjective to denote "beaten," of metal (cf. LXX, Tg. Syr.). As a figure of speech based on the practice of throwing lots with arrows, it would mean "their tongue is like a blunted arrow; it (the arrow) speaks falsehood."

We may perhaps mention in passing that the verse of the synoptic portion of Isa. 37:33-4, Kings 19:32 in which the prophlet is said to have assured Hezekiah that Jerusalem, despite the threatening speech of Rabshakeh, would not be taken in battle, may possibly refer to an imagined action of the enemy rather than to an actual assault on the city. The verse in question, which is generally translated, "He shall not come into this city, or shoot an arrow there, or come before it with a shield, or cast up a siege-mound against it," may, in the light of our discussion, be interpreted as merely an act of sympathetic magic, in which Sennacherib was expected to indulge before embarking on a punitive expedition from Lachish to Jerusalem. In our interpretation *l'yb' 'l h'yr hz't wl' ywrh šm ḥṣ wl' yšpk 'lyh swllh wl' yqdmnh mgn* would mean: "He shall never come (or set out, cf. Ez. 21:24) to this city, nor shall he draw lots there (in Lachish), nor confront it with a shield, nor cast up (a model) siege-mound against it. By the way that he came, by the same he shall return (from Lachish), and he shall never come to this city."[13] Ezekiel in 21:23-27 tells us similarly that this was part of the magical formula used by the king of Babylon before embarking on

[9] *Toledot Ha'emunah Hayisre'elit*, VII, p. 516.

[10] On the other hand, there is ample evidence to prove that the Assyrian kings did use arrows symbolically when proceeding to war or when accepting tribute. In a number of representations of Assyrian art the king is depicted as holding two arrows in his right hand; if the tip were turned downward it meant enmity and war, turned upwards it signified peace. This compares well with the description cited further in Ezekiel (v. 27) whereby the king is holding out the divination (MT. *qesem*, Ar. *istaqsama*) in his right hand on which the legend "Jerusalem" is inscribed. Cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (Rome 1945), p. 159.

[11] Ibn Hisham, Suhailis Commentary (ed. Wüstenfeld) 1, p. 96. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 126-128, or Driver, *Deuteronomy, ICC*, pp. 223 ff. Cf. also D. H. Müller, *ZDMG*, 58 (1904), 784 ff.

[12] The onomasticon of the Phoenician inscription on the arrow-head published by J. T. Milik and read by him as *Zakkur bin Bin'ana* has since been contested in more recent publications. The difficulty seems to lie in the fact that the inscription which runs on both sides of the central rib has *hṣzkrb* on one side followed by *bnbn'n* on the reverse. While Milik in his interpretation discarded the letter *bet* at the end of *zkr* as "a false start for *bn*, a (sort of) dittography caused by the passage from the end of one line to the beginning of the other" (*Ibid.*, note 4), S. Yeivin, however, (*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*, XXII (1958), 122 ff. and English summary) deems to see in the photograph of the blunted arrow-head some traces of additional letters, reading the first name in full as Zakarba'al and not merely as an hypokoristicon. This is also the view of W. F. Albright.

[13] Note especially in this connection the implicit adverbial *šām* "there" (away, where the king was). Cf. also the text of IQ Isa[a] where the order of the supposed action is reversed. In another instance where casting of lots is involved in the MT (Nu 33:54) *'el ăšer yēṣē' lô šāmāh haggôrāl lô yihyeh* "wherever his lot falls that shall be his," the LXX rendered ŠMH in accordance with old Hebrew orthography for 3 p. m. sing. "his name," i. e. the lot on which his name is inscribed.

an expedition. The prophet himself proceeded in similar fashion when foretold the doom of Jerusalem; he inscribed on a brick the name "Jerusalem," he threw up a model siege-mound around it, and for want of a shield he substituted a frying pan (Heb. *mḥbt*). However, this involves us in the controversial debate regarding a second campaign of Sennacherib in Judah, into which we shall not enter here.

II

The occurrence of the word *ḥṣ* regularly before the personal names on each of the above five inscribed bronze specimens which happened to be found in such far-removed places of ancient Canaanite territory must also, without doubt, have had its own specific reason and meaning.

While paleographically these inscribed legends on javelin heads offer a long sought-for and until recently still missing link between the proto-alphabetic epigraphs and the oldest authenticated Phoenician inscriptions, "they also seem perhaps to preserve a very modest sample of a Canaanite dialect still extant in the time of the Judges of Israel."

First, the sign for *ṣade* in the word *ḥṣ*, inscribed on all el-Khadr arrow-heads in a "lighter" hitherto unidentified letter form, suggested to Dr. Cross the availability at an early time of a Phoenician symbol for original velar dental spirant *ẓ* as differentiated from the *ṣade* which stands for velar sibilant *ṣ* sound. Except for the South and North Arabic alphabets, where a similar situation continued to exist, in all other Semitic dialects the tendency of these originally distinct phonemes was to coalesce in script as well as in sound. The word *ḥṣ* on the el-Khadr arrow-heads may still have been pronounced in the 12th Century as *ḥiẓẓ* or *ḥaẓẓ*, as shown by Ugaritic, Aramaic and Arabic where the word is written with the letter indicating an original *ẓ*.

But perhaps of equal significance may be the observation that the word *ḥṣ* here as elsewhere conceals still another ancient meaning which too often has remained unnoticed.

In meaning and spelling it corresponds to the Arabic word for a "little arrow," *ḥaẓwah*, which means also, significantly enough, 'luck' or 'good fortune,' and which modern lexicographers, cognizant of the semantic relationship between the Arabic words for "luck" and "arrow-head," call *ḥaẓwah Lospfeil* or "lot-arrow," and compare with the Hebrew equivalent *ḥṣy* used in I Sam. in the story of arrow-throwing between David and Jonathan and also in II Kings 9:24.[14] *Ḥṣ* in the form in which it appears on our inscription may well be identified with the Arabic *ḥaẓẓ*, meaning "lot, portion, good luck, fortune, chance."

Seen from this angle the word *ḥēṣ* must have had a double significance, both as a weapon and as "good fortune." Whether by way of metonymy or otherwise, the latter usage is evidently derived from the popularity of divination by arrows—belomancy—as may also be deduced from a number of passages in the Hebrew Bible.

In their wars against the Arameans and following a prevailing custom, the kings of the Divided Monarchy considered divination a necessary prerequisite before an impending battle. Even on his death-bed, Elisha (2 Kings 13:14-19) was able to render just such a service to Joash, King of Israel. This time divination was accomplished by means of arrows. First, he ordered the king to shoot arrows from an open window eastward. Then he made him take a quiver full of arrows (Greek, *tóxa*) and repeatedly shoot them or throw them to the ground. The outcome was *ḥēṣ-təšû'āh ləYahweh wəḥēṣ təšû'āh ba'ărām*, which should be rendered, "an omen of Victory for Yahweh, an omen of Victory over Aram."

In all of the ancient and modern translations of the Hebrew Bible the passage in Job 3:6, *'ānûš ḥiṣṣî bəlî-pāša'*, has been interpreted to mean 'my wound (which was inflicted by an arrow of God) is woeful (or, 'incurable') for no fault of mine.' To bring this metaphor into full conformity with its parallel verse (RSV) 'in spite of my right I am counted a liar' we must understand *ḥeṣ* not as 'arrow' but rather as 'lot,' 'fortune,' etc. and 'my lot is woeful for no fault of mine.' Our *'ānûš ḥiṣṣî* would then correspond to the Arabic expression *ḥaẓẓ mašûm* "fortuna adversa" (Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*), 'bad luck' and would become still more meaningful by comparison with the parallel expression *yôm 'ānûš* 'woeful' or 'disastrous' day in Jer. 17:16.[15]

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[14] For *ḥṣy*, see Gesenius *Handwörterbuch* (17th ed.) and BDB *Lexicon*.

[15] Similarly, in Job 21:21, the Hebrew verse ending with *ḥuṣṣāṣû* is to be translated "and the number of his months is predestined," i. e., foreordained or decided by lot. Cf. also the parallel passage in Job 14:5, "Since his days are determined, and the number of his months is

The double meaning of *ḥeṣ* both as an arrowhead and 'luck' has now been found to have been current also in Ugaritic literature. While in the preliminary publications no clear lexicographical distinction could be noticed, in the 1955 revised edition of Gordon's *Ugaritic Manual* these two meanings appear in the glossary under separate headings. *Ḥẓ* figures also as an adjective in text 51:IV; 42 and in Anat: V:39, *ḥyt ḥẓt* meaning 'lucky life' compared with Arabic *ḥaẓîya*, 'lucky' and South Arabic *ḥẓy* 'favor.' And Lady Asherah of the Sea replies: *tḥmk. 'il. ḥkm/ ḥkmt. 'm. 'lm/ ḥyt. ḥẓt. tḥmk.*

Thy word, 'Il, is wise:	Thy command, O El, is wise,
Thou art wise unto eternity;	Thy wisdom lasts forever,
Lucky life is thy word.	A life of good fortune is thy command!
(C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 32)	(W. F. Albright, *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet*, p. 5)

Also U. Cassuto takes it to mean "success" in his Hebrew translation in *The Goddess Anath*, (Jerusalem 1953).

Recently an Ugaritic mythological fragment has been published by C. V. Virolleaud[16] in which the Canaanite god Rešep is described as *b'l ḥẓ ršp*. Again in a fourth century Phoenician inscription from Cyprus a similar appellation is given Rešep when he is called *ršp ḥṣ* and is invoked for a blessing. The rendering of *ršp ḥẓ* has long been the object of a dispute.[17] While some (Clermont-Ganneau) had insisted that the Phoenician inscription be translated "Rešep of the Street" (Heb. *ḥûṣ*), others preferred, instead, "Rešep of the Arrow." Now, with the publication of the new Ras Shamra text, where *b'l ḥẓ ršp* was translated "Rešep the Archer," following the usual rendering of *ba'ălê ḥiẓẓîm*, a hapax in Gen. 49:23, the translation of *ršp ḥẓ* as "Rešep of the Arrow" seemed also to be gaining general acceptance.[18] However, aside from the fact that the possessor of one arrow does not become an archer, we find in all biblical texts that 'archery' is represented rather by *qešet* "bow" while *ḥiṣṣîm* (in plural) come either in conjunction with *qešet* or as implements of war.[19] The very structure of the Ugaritic appellation *b'l ḥẓ ršp* suggest that the meaning is actually not "Rešep the possessor of an arrow," but "lord of luck" or the "lord of good fortune. Similarly the Phoenician *Ršp ḥṣ* must also mean "Rešep of good fortune."

The extreme fluidity of the personality and function of this god is indicated in many ways. While he is known principally as the god of the underworld, he is also mentioned as gate-keeper of the sun.[20] He is the god causing both pestilence and healing.[21] Perhaps the mention in Ugaritic of *ršp gn* should rather be translated "Rešep of the shield"[22] instead of "Rešep of the Garden." In the Karatepe inscription he appears as a god of well-being and fertility and in an Egyptian text of the 13th century one is asked to pray to Resep, the great god who grants life, prosperity and health.[23]

with thee, and thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass."

It could be that the Hebrew stem has absorbed the two primitive stems which have been preserved in Arabic *ḥṣṣ* and *ḥẓẓ*, "to give to someone the portion that belongs to him" and "fortune," "lot." See J. Eitan, *JQR*, XIV (1923), 41-42.

[16] *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, II (Paris 1957), text 15, 134, line 3, p. 5.

[17] See G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford 1903), pp. 56-57.

[18] That the wording of Genesis 49:23 as well as the interpretation are actually in need of a genuine re-appraisal has long been felt by many, as is also obvious from a comparison with LXX. The latest efforts by Mitchell J. Dahood (*Biblica*, 40 [1959], 1002) to elucidate the obscurities in the "Blessings of Jacob" with the aid of Ugaritic parallels clearly steer this task in the right direction. When seen from the context one cannot stop wondering why *ba'ălê ḥiṣṣîm* should be hating Joseph so intensely and embittering his life when he is not depicted in tradition as one engaged in rivalry with hunters or warriors? Strangely enough, Joseph is the only figure among the Hebrew patriarchs who is described as prognosticating future events, interpreting dreams and deliberately parading as a diviner (Gen. 44:15).

Note also that with reference to other brothers (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah) there too, allusions, while obscure enough, are made to some known experiences in their lives, except in the case of the remaining brothers who happen to have no "personal history" at all.

[19] Cf. Gen. 21:20; I Sam. 31:3; 2 Sam. 1:18; Amos 2:15; Job 41:20 and also Isa. 5:28.

[20] Virolleaud, *op. cit.*, text 12.61, lines 2-4, p. 189 reads: *'rbt špš ṯġrh ršp* "the sun is set, her gate-keeper being Rešep."

[21] *Rešep—Šalmôn* discussed by W. F. Albright in *ARI*, pp. 79-80.

[22] Heb. *gnn*; cf. Isa. 31:5, 37:35.

[23] It is pointed out that the sign for 'life,' 'to enjoy life' in the pictographic tablets was an arrow (Sumerian

Common in proper names Rešep is also identified in Cyprus bilinguals with Apollo.[24] With all these evidences of the ambivalent character of Rešep, we find it all the more reasonable to see him also as the god of luck.[25]

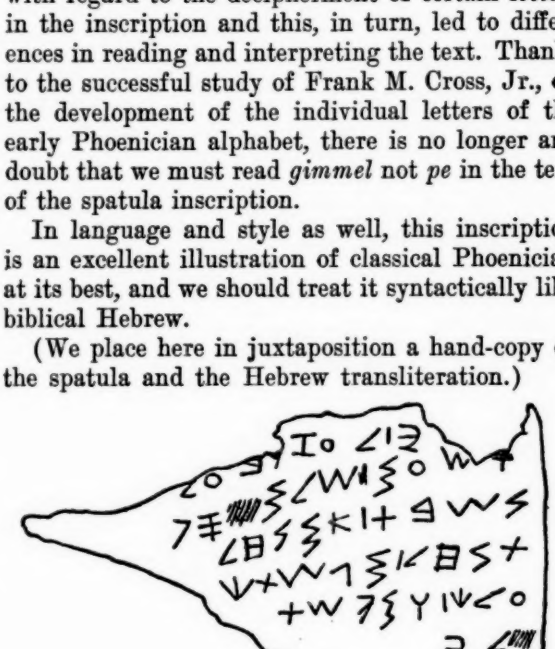
III

Inscribed arrow or javelin-heads were not the only means which the peoples of antiquity used to draw lots for divination. We discover in another Phoenician inscription of the tenth century that similar objects or tools were used like these inscribed arrow-heads for the purpose of dividing property and establishing prerogatives. I refer here to the inscribed bronze spatula from Byblos (Biblical *Gebel*) published by M. Dunand in 1937 and subsequently analyzed by Albright, C. C. Torrey, Obermann and Torczyner. Although at the opposite edges two missing fragments appear to have taken off a few letters, the inscription is virtually complete. Striking in design, the spatula is described as approaching the shape of an isosceles triangle with a rather acute apex. Some comparative evidence has been brought from Byblos itself and elsewhere for its original cultic provenience and for the custom of using such flat bronze objects for certain formulaic inscriptions of ceremonial character. In their reading and interpretation of the text, whether they call it a legal promissory document, political treaty or something else, they differ so widely that Albright, in his third and most successful attempt to break the impasse had the following to say about Torczyner's reading: "I know of no ancient legal documents where so much must be read into the text to make sense."[26] It was Albright who, by naming it a 'letter of reconciliation' gave meaning to the text and made it possible to understand the functional purpose of the inscribed spatula. The spatula, he insisted, was used as an object in casting lots to settle a strife between two contenders, and there must have been, apparently, two similar spatulas with the names of the owners inscribed in reversed order.

At the beginning there were sharp differences with regard to the decipherment of certain letters in the inscription and this, in turn, led to differences in reading and interpreting the text. Thanks to the successful study of Frank M. Cross, Jr., on the development of the individual letters of the early Phoenician alphabet, there is no longer any doubt that we must read *gimmel* not *pe* in the text of the spatula inscription.

In language and style as well, this inscription is an excellent illustration of classical Phoenician at its best, and we should treat it syntactically like biblical Hebrew.

(We place here in juxtaposition a hand-copy of the spatula and the Hebrew transliteration.)



INSCRIPTION ON A BRONZE SPATULA (ABOUT 1000 B. C.).

[.]י . לעזירבעל
תשעם . שלם [.] סג
נשבת . אם נחל
תנחל . מגשתך
עלך . ומגשת
לי

Line 1 --*y l'z b'l* [ ] to *'Izri-ba'al*

ši§ti), or that the words 'arrow' and 'life' were pronounced alike *ti* (Falkenstein, *Archäische Texte*) quoted by Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods*, p. 158, n. 4.

[24] For a detailed recent account of Rešep see Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine"; *Studi Semitici* 1 (Rome 1958).

[25] Among the ancient Arabs, for instance, the planet Jupiter was known as the 'great luck,' while the Greek Good Fortune (Agathe Tychê) appears in Aramaic dress with *naḥšâ ṭâbâ*, a popular object of worship. Every Syrian town had its Tychê (Gaddâ) identified with the local community. It must be admitted" says W. F. Albright (*FSTC*, p. [illegible]) "that neither the Oriental nor the average Greek saw a clear distinction between fortune and fate." In this connection it will be noteworthy to add that Tychê is explained etymologically from *tynchanein*, "hit the mark." Latin *Fortuna* was identified with Tyche. The method of consultation was similarly to draw lots at random from a number of inscribed oak-wood billets (sortes). See *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, v. *Fortuna*.

[26] "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B. C. from Byblus." *JAOS*, 67 (1947), 158, and the bibliography there.

We shall not dwell on the reading of this line since the spelling of the name, obviously the addressee, is now accepted by all as correct and appears to be virtually identical with Carthaginian *Hasdrubal*. The word behind the letter *yod* preceding the name can only be guessed. It could be the name of the sender ending in *yod* or (though less likely) *y* may represent the pronominal suffix of the first person singular of a plural noun, like (DBR)Y, that is 'my words' or 'my message.'

Line 2-3 *tš'm šlm* (*w*) *sg. nšbt*

If thou dost seek reconciliation, we shall cease strife.

In translating the first two words I follow Albright who, in disregarding the proposed numeral *tiš'im* (= 90) for the first word, saw in it rather a verb (possibly optative) *ts'* with *m* (*mi*) enclitic as a particle of emphasis. (See Hummel, "Enclitic MEM in Early N. W. Semitic," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 105 and the very apt example *wtznḥm šlm nfšy* (Lam. 3:17). The Hebrew *šā'āh*, Accad. *še'û* he takes to mean "to look for, seek, take an interest in," and presumably also "care for." In the charming words of KJV this clause would mean "Dost thou have respect for peace?" (Gen. 4:4-5).

I take *sig* to mean 'refractoriness,' breakage. It is usually in the Bible rendered as "dross," i. e., scum thrown off from metals in smelting. I base my rendering on: a) the same word followed by the hiph'il of *šbt* "to cease" is used in MT Ps. 119: 119 *sigîm hišbattā, kol riš'ê 'āreṣ*. The second strophe being in apposition to the first, meaning "refractoriness hast thou caused to cease, (also) all the wickedness of earth." Also Ps. 46:10 *mašbît milḥāmôth* = "he makes wars to cease unto the end of the earth." The same meaning is confirmed in similar wording in Prov. 20:3: "It is an honor for a man to cease from strife." Also Prov. 18:18 and 22:10 "Strife and reproach shall cease." b) There are strong indications that *śiaḥ wəkî śig lô* in I Kings 18:27 and Sira 13:26 *wəśig wəśîaḥ* mean "quarrel, argument." For *śîaḥ*, cf. Prov. 23:29 where it comes in parallelism with *rîb* "quarrel," while *rîb* is frequently in parallelism with *mādōn*, "legal strife." It is possible that *śîaḥ* had influenced the spelling of the closely following *śig*, although a similar correspondence had also been observed in the case of the numeral "ten" (*'eśer* in Hebrew; but *'eser* in Phoenician, and both spellings in Neo-Punic).

L. 3-4 *'m nḥl tnḥl*

If thou dost agree to share by (casting) lots

Originally in Hebrew this verb meant "to divide, to share by lot." Cf. the procedure of land distribution in Joshua and the concluding statement (19:49) *waykhallû linḥōl hā'āreṣ* together with the parallel (19:51) *waykhallû mēhallēq et-hā'āreṣ*. Cf. the very ancient saying "we have no part or share (*naḥlāh*) in the house of David. Cf. also Josh. 13:6-7 and the LXX; Nu. 26:53-56; Josh. 18:5-10; Nu 34:13.

We are reminded of the Accad. *elātu* "preferred share" and *pūru*, where the remaining shares were divided by lot. In discussing the principle of allotment in the possession of land in Mesopotamia, E. A. Speiser assumed that the same practice obtained in Canaan. "It helps to illustrate the Biblical use of *nāphal* 'fall' (i. e., "by lot") usually with *nḥlh* 'share' when possession of land is indicated." Cf. Judges 18:1; Ps. 16:6, and in accusative with *gôrāl* "lot."

L. 4-5 *mgštk 'lk wmgšt ly*

Thy divining implement shall be incumbent upon thee,
While my divining implement is mine.

While Albright's rendering "offerings" anticipates approximately the same idea, identifying it with Ugaritic *mgṯ* which, in turn, corresponds to a Hebrew participle passive *muggāš* (Mal. 1:11), it was still necessary to read the words as a plural to account for the final *taw*; Dunand had also experimented with the idea of "defiling by contact" (Arabic *nǧs*); (Hebrew *'al tiggaš bî kî qedaštîkā* (Isa. 65:5 also Ez. 44:13); however, he abandoned it in favor of *créance*. We consider it a fem sing. *maggišt*(*u*), Massoretic Hebr. *maggéšet* which like all nouns of *maqtilt* form denotes an implement, tool or utensil, such as *maqqébet* (*nqb*) = hammer or drill, *marḥéšet* = a stew pan, *ma'ăkélet* = a skinning knife, *miš'éret* = kneading trough, *mahpéket* = a wrench, etc. In my opinion, besides the concrete meaning "bring near," "offer," the *Hiph'il* of Hebrew *ngš* also retained an older, independent meaning "to divine, to make contact with the deity." While it is still discernible in the older narrative portions of the Bible and in quotations, this latter meaning often became obscure by a superfluous *nota accusativi* or a following preposition and adverb after its inherent,

dynamistic sense was no longer felt. The command of the king to the priest before an impending battle, *haggîšāh 'ărôn hā'elôhîm* (I Sam. 14:18) and *haggîšāh hā'ēphôd* (I Sam. 23:9) mean "consult an oracle." The concluding word *wayyaggaš* without any direct object in Jud. 6:19 means "and he divined" after which the answer of the angel follows. Amos 6:3 "Ye who are (fore) casting (*menaddîm*, Akk. *nadû* = 'cast dice') a day of evil doings and divining, a week (read with LXX *šabbāt*) of violence." The same is also true of the quotation cited in Amos 9:10. Cf. also (Isa. 41:22 and 45:21. In Arabic *munaǧǧis* (participle II of *nǧs*) means 'maker of amulets,' the corresponding verbal noun *tanǧīs* means 'charm amulet.'

In summing up we should like to remark that the solution of this enigmatic text does not depend so much on the words in the initial lines, which have been variously explained or paleographically confused. It should, instead, be sought in the conditional clause *'m nḥl tnḥl* followed by an apodosis of two similar nominal clauses all clearly read and syntactically well constructed. To most interpreters the terms for the "possession (of the land)" by the addressor appear to be actually stipulated in the apodosis, where both parties are equally pledged to fulfill the same kind of obligations. According to Torczyner, both men were to pay from their new yield of "flax" (*mpšt*) to some imaginary third party while the "case of the inheritance" was still pending in the courts. To Obermann the price for the "cession" of land to the stronger man is a status quo ante. Similarly, we may ask why both litigants should bring "offerings" while only one of them came to "inherit the property." Although we all agree that the initial lines of the inscription call for a settlement of the dispute, we now understand that the message at the end aims only at setting up a procedure for effecting such a reconciliation and the choice of means leading to a desired settlement. In later times people in similar situations would resort to human arbitration and arrange to be represented by proxies. But in ancient times they preferred to have divine intervention by casting lots. The object which we call "spatula" actually is mentioned in the text of the inscription (*mgšt*) and the opposite party is requested to furnish a similar "spatula."

In spirit and in the choice of some of the wording, this message echoes an ancient maxim so well stated in Prov. 18:18, which in itself is supposed to contain some of the contemporary Phoenician wisdom: "The lot settles legal strife and separates powerful contenders." *

* I wish to express my thanks to Prof. W. F. Albright for his advice and encouragement in preparing this article for publication.

SOME NOTES ON THE LEGAL LANGUAGE OF CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC DEEDS

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WITHIN THE ENTIRE FIELD of Spanish civilization the Arabic-Islamic documents represent a legal aspect which seems no less significant than the religious-mystic or the literary aspect. In a more comprehensive work devoted to Spanish-Islamic relations as found in existing documents—to be published in Los Angeles—I have tried to furnish documentary proof for the actual existence of Christian-Islamic contacts.

It is a fact which has been frequently emphasized by documentary research that, quite apart from their legal content, notarial forms also show great inter-cultural adaptability. We find, for instance, that expressions are transplanted as mere rhetorical phrases from ancient Greek documents to the writings of Greco-Egyptian law; and the Ravenna papyrus shows the dependence of late Roman documentary style on Oriental-Hellenistic models.

Now, the true task of Islamic documentary research, in my opinion, is the examination of the formal aspect rather than the interpretation of the legal content; the documentary style can be transferred from Christian to Islamic legal practice;

therefore, the cultural connecting threads may be followed more closely here than elsewhere, as, for example, in the purely factual content.

In their newly conquered lands, the Arabs came upon the Christian-Occidental documentary practice, and, as newcomers in this field, they ordered their own notaries immediately to adopt this practice. The result was a far reaching agreement in the formal descriptions employed. Let us take their deeds of gift as an example. The Occidental pattern of around A. D. 600 reveals the following:

1) A disposition of the giver: *transcribo, cedo, trado et mancipo.*
2) A restricting formula: *inter adfines circumcirca.*
3) An accessory formula: *liminibusque limitibusque suis omnibus omnique iure proprietateque eius.*

Similarly, the Arabic pattern contains, among others, the following:

1) A disposition of the giver: :*sāqa* or *naḥala.*
2) A restricting formula: *wa-ḥadduhā fi l-qiblati kaḏā,* etc.
3) An accessory formula: *bi-ǧamī'i manāfi'i n-niḥlati,* etc.

The research of Grohmann has already shown that the writer of early Islamic documents followed certain certain external details of his Christian models. It can be taken as proven fact that the Arabic documentary style is influenced by the style of Greco-Egyptian legal practice, that there is a correspondence in individual formulae as well as in the total structure. But it must be emphasized that this practice, once it was established, was interpreted according to the Islamic legal theories whereby an Islamic content had to be inserted into its more or less neutral forms. This process of systematizing begins within the ninth century, attains its fullest development in the eleventh century, and continues into later times. It finds its literary reflection in the so-called documentary theory *'ilm as-šurūṭ* or *'ilm al-waṯā'iq,* which deals with the legal formulation of documents. Let us illustrate this process in the case of the aforementioned restricting and accessory formulae:

1) Restricting formula. A real property whose ownership is to be determined must first be clearly defined. The question arises as to how this is to be accomplished. Shall one or several boundaries be established? Which cardinal points shall be given preference? In the Latin papyri of Italy, the following limitation suffices: *inter adfines circumcirca,* "between the surrounding properties," where at first only two sides, but later all the boundaries are given. The sequence in the demotic, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic papyri is South, North, East, West. The European medieval regulations required that place and region should be designated first and only secondarily the correct borders. Islamic theory, for which we use Saraḫsī as characteristic interpreter of the restricting and accessory formulae, preserves the same sequence: place, region, boundaries, proceeding from the general to the particular.

Saraḫsī demands a delimitation according to all four cardinal points, thus eliminating all dispute. His ideal sequence is: South, East, North, West. The South is called *qibla,* from the direction of prayer of the Muslims living to the north of Mecca; thus *qibla,* South, is for Saraḫsī the noblest direction which should be placed at the beginning. In reality, we here recognize the Islamic justification of an already established non-Islamic practice, when we remember the previously mentioned South orientation in the various languages of the Egyptian papyri.

Moreover, the expression "boundaries" must, already in Latin documents, express the bordering on private or public property; it is in this connection that Saraḫsī discusses the formula of the "public highways," *aṭ-ṭarīq al-'āmm,* which corresponds to a Latin formula *qua quemque tangit et populum.* The Latin documents make express use of the designation "boundaries"; *liminibus limitibusque suis omnibus,* and the corresponding Islamic notations for the phrase "with its borders" is *bi-ḥudūdihā.* In this case, the accident formulae receive a new meaning from Islam. Saraḫsī says: "When the notary writes 'he bought it with its boundaries,' the boundaries are also included in the purchase. I (Saraḫsī) am, however, opposed to his expression 'with its boundaries,' for the boundary is not that which is bounded."

2) The accessory formula. In their search for a definite legal content for the old traditional formulae, the Islamic systematizers came upon an accessory formula of Greco-Latin origin, which

had been translated by the Arabs in earlier times. This formula determines the legal use of a property which has just been defined according to its boundaries: *panti dikaiō tēs autēs chōras, cum omni jure suo omnibusque ad se pertinentibus; meta tēs eisodu kai exodu, cum ingresso et egresso.*

In the Islamic formula one finds, among others, the expressions *ḥuqūq, marāfiq* and *madāḫil, maḫāriǧ*. Saraḫsī interprets *ḥuqūq* and *marāfiq* as appurtenances which are not fixed constituent parts of the main thing, and therefore considered appurtenances. If, to take a concrete example, a house is the object of a legal transaction, then the notary must know a) what pertains to the house without the terms *ḥuqūq* and *marāfiq*, and b) what belongs to the concept "house" with the *ḥuqūq* and *marāfiq*.

a) House without *ḥuqūq* means the building with rafters, doors, etc., as well as the upper and lower floors; but the ownership of the access road to the neighbor's house can be disputed according to Saraḫsī. According to Abū Yūsuf, the private road and all improvements on the property belong to it.

b) House with *ḥuqūq* includes the private road according to Abū Ḥanīfa; according to Saraḫsī, it includes the access road to the neighbor's house.

Again, other questions, which shall not be mentioned here, arise when the appurtenance formula refers to a dwelling or a room instead of to a house. We see from this example that the old *iura* and *pertinentia*, which had been transformed into *ḥuqūq* and *marāfiq*, required a very thoroughgoing and exact conceptual determination before they could obtain general validity for Islam. With *ḥuqūq* and *marāfiq* were nearly always connected the so-called "exits and entrances," *madāḫil* and *maḫāriǧ*, outer and inner appurtenances, which we encounter already in the Arabic papyrus documents and which thus betray their immediate connection with *exodos* and *eisodos* in the Greek papyrus documents of their common Egyptian homeland.

This development now becomes especially interesting if we follow it further in a country where Oriental and Occidental documents existed side by side during the entire Middle Ages and where they came into immediate contact, namely, Spain. Here the Islamic documentary theory which can be verified since the ninth century, met with the contemporaneous Christian practice of Asturia modeled on the late Roman style.

Both religious communities derive their documentary language from related sources and permit the separate streams to meet again at the end. We want to follow this process in its general outlines with the help of our selected examples of restricting and accessory formulae.

1) Restricting formula. The Asturian collection of documents published by Floriano mentions the following restricting formulae: *et per illum . . . et per illos . . . et per illam . . . et per illum*, etc., for the year 824.

In Romance language times we find the following: *de lado uno . . . de lado segundo . . . de lado tercero, bia de los muchos*, "road of the many," "public road," for the year 1219; or, *dela una parte . . . y dela otra parte . . . y dela otra parte*, for the year 1396; cardinal points are given in the twelfth century in the following sequence: East, *ex solis ortum*, West, *ex solis occasum*, South, *ex dextera parte*, North, *de alia.*

In the thirteenth century we find in the Aragonian *fueros* the theoretic determination of a locality according to town, district and boundaries. We have already seen that the Islamic theory requires such determination to proceed from the general to the specific. Only the sequence of cardinal points (East, West, South, North) deviates from the ideal Islamic sequence (South, East, North, West). It is, however, interesting to note that the Spanish-Islamic habitus, in contrast with the general-Islamic, follows the Spanish-Christian scheme, East, West, South, North, namely the Spanish habitus of the two religions is in complete agreement.

2) Accessory formula. It is written in Asturian documents: *cum suas hereditates es pertinentia, cum suas hereditates, et suas regulas et suas ajacencias, cum omnen exitum et regressu suo, cum omne accessu regressuqe suo.* Here we already meet a specified designation of appurtenance and accessory according to exits and entrances. In the twelfth century the formula is written: *cum introitu et exitu eius*; in the Romance language of the thirteenth century, *sues exidas y sues entradas*; in the fourteenth century, *con entradas y con salidas y con todos sus derechos y pertenencias.*

Christian notaries of the sixteenth century write *contodos y cadaunos derechos.*

A survey of Latin documents shows the following sequence of terms within the appurtenance formula:

(1) omnique jure, omnibus directis
(2) pertinentia
(3) ajacentia
(4) usus, ad prestitum hominis
(5) ingressus, introitus, accessus
(6) egressus, regressus, exitus, recessus.

The Romance documents offer a corresponding terminology:

(1) derechos
(2) pertinencias
(3) compusturas
(4) provechos
(5) entradas
(6) salidas.

The transition appears at first glance so natural and compelling, that the idea of an Arabic connecting link can hardly arise. Would an Arabic parallel word sequence, were it really present, have to be accepted as a connecting link, or should we only ascribe to it the much smaller significance of an accidental parallel?

Let us first look at the Arabic sequence.

(1) ḥuqūq . . . . directa, derechos
(2) marāfiq . . . pertenencias
(3) ḥurum . . . . adjacentia, conpusturas
(4) manāfiʿ . . . . prestita, provechos
(5) madāḫil . . . ingressi, entradas
(6) maḫāriǧ . . . egressi, salidas.

It can be seen that the Arabic sequence agrees so closely with the Latin-Romance language sequence that, for points (1), (4), (5) and (6) it seems to be a mere translation. *Ḥuqūq, manāfiʿ, madāḫil* and *maḫāriǧ* are not only as to content but also formally the same as *derechos, provechos, entradas* and *salidas.* The question is only, whether such Islamic-Christian verbal similarities were consciously conceived as equivalent by their contemporaries and placed side by side in translations.

For *ḥuqūq, madāḫil* and *maḫāriǧ,* I am able to prove that this was actually the case. Aragonian bilinguals of the twelfth century contain the passage: *bid-duḫūli ʿalaihimā wal-ḫurūǧi ʿanhumā wa-bi-kulli ḥaqqin lahum.* In the Latin we find, *cum introitibus et exitibus earum et omnibus directis suis.* We may deduce from this, that Christian-Islamic textual parallels, even had they not influenced each other, yet must have come in contact.

We may even dare to take another step forward. The Romance language appurtenance formula contain striking peculiarities which we meet again in the Arabic appurtenance formulae. We find in the Romance documents, *y con todas sus pertenencias . . . poco y mucho,* in literal agreement with the Arabic formulation, *wa-kulli qalīlin wa-kaṯīrin huwa fīhā.* To deny an interdependence here would, in my opinion, have little justification.

In order that my discussion may not appear an anemic theory, I want to refer briefly also to the human presuppositions which were present in Spain for this interdependence of the Christian-Muslim documentary style. I have followed the question of personal contact of the Christian and Islamic population in the private legal affairs of later times on the basis of my documentary work and have consequently come to the following conclusions.

Despite the fact that the Moorish subjects had their own notaries, accredited in the *fueros,* the Christian notary also had to deal with them in his official capacity. The Christian ruler promotes the existing numerous trade relations between Christians and Moors, since one third of its value must be paid to his representative. Christian notaries had authority over Moorish communal questions which can be seen in the establishment of *censales* or municipal bonds *sine die* which were periodically renewed by the Moorish community, usually dependent on the Christian notary. Certain Christian notaries of Saragossa seem to have considered the Moorish community as their speciality. In the 157 folios of the notary book of Miguel Serrano we find 85 Moorish commissions; 64 of these cases deal with matters of custody or indebtedness; 7 deal with purchase and sale, and only a very small portion deals with other matters. The Christian notary also decided on private Moorish debts. We would assume that he acted only in legal affairs between a Muslim or a Muslim community and a Christian or Christian agency. But this was not the case.

It was not at all rare that personal, inner-Muslim affairs were placed in his hands; even a

succession by inheritance following Islamic law could assume the Christian notarial form. In these cases, the Muslim client wished to obtain an authentic document which would be legally valid in Christian courts of later times. Although the regulations were based on their own legal conceptions, they were clothed in Christian notarial forms, so that they would also be legally correct for the latter.

This is an especially important discovery which may justify the detailed preceding discussion. Christian notarial practice has been shown as transferable to Islamic presuppositions. The very reverse of this process is illustrated in the bilingual agreements of the twelfth century; they are based on Christian municipal law, but follow Muslim stylistic models. We thus find in Spain Islamic documents in Christian official language and Christian documents in Islamic official language. The documentary formulae are, therefore, seen as transferable between the two religions. These Christian-Islamic records illustrate the internal Spanish process of blending and fusion.

THE STRUCTURE AND ORIENTATION OF THE JEWISH TEMPLE AT ELEPHANTINE—A REVISED PLAN OF THE JEWISH DISTRICT*

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THE FIFTH CENTURY ARAMAIC papyri from Elephantine include several documents of real estate containing geographical dispositions. When correctly interpreted these dispositions enable us to draw up a partial plan of the Jewish district, to determine the orientation of its Temple, and to elucidate the relationship of its community to Jerusalem.

Two problems of interpretation come to the fore in two documents from the Mahseiah family archive, first published in 1906 by Archibald Sayce and Arthur Cowley.[1] In A.P. 6:8-11 we learn that Mahseiah's neighbor to the east is Dargman and the one to the west is Qoniya. Below him is Yezaniah and above him is Espemet. A few years after this document was made out Mahseiah's daughter Mibtahiah marries their neighbor Yezaniah and the father deeds his property to the newlyweds. The document assigning ownership distributes the neighbors differently, however. In A.P. 8:5-8 we learn that Dargman lives above while Qoniya resides below. East of the house is Yezaniah while Espemet is on the west. The second document thus shifts each one of the houses 90° counterclockwise. As recognized already by Albion van Hoonacker (see below), the true geographical location must lie somewhere in the middle. For if Espemet's house is correctly located as lying *both* above *and* west of Mahseiah-Mibtahiah's house, then it must lie in a direction which is *above-west* of that house. The fact that at Elephantine a given direction might be some 45° off the true geographical direction was later borne out by the dispositions in papyri nos. 3 and 4 of the Brooklyn Museum published by Emil G. Kraeling.

The second problem is: what is meant by "above" and "below"? Beginning with Sayce everyone assumed that "above" meant "south" and "below," "north," no doubt in view of the direction in which the Nile flows.[2] Espemet's house was thus located SW of that of Mahseiah-Mibtahiah. From a third papyrus we learn that the houses of both Mibtahiah and Yezaniah lay close by the Jewish Temple. Thus in A.P. 25:4-7 we find that above Yezaniah is Hosea and below him is Hazzul. Westward is Mibtahiah's house

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[1] *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London, 1906). References to these papyri will be cited from Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923) (=A.P.).

[2] Sayce and Cowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 36.

while the Temple is located to the east across the "King's Highway." On the basis of these three documents, plus a fourth which we shall consider below, Van Hoonacker, in the Schweich Lectures for 1914, presented a drawing which located the house of Mahseiah-Mibtahiah and their neighbors SW of the Temple (Fig. 1).[3] This plan was later incorporated by Cowley in his edition of 1923.[4]

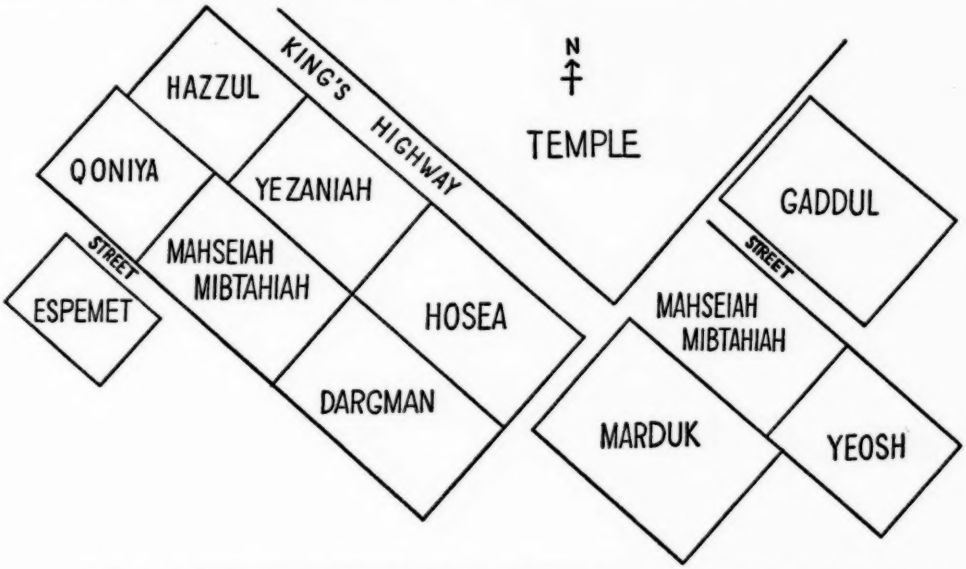

FIG. 1. Disposition of Temple and its environs according to A. Van Hoonacker.

The publication of the Ananiah family archive by Emil G. Kraeling in 1953 revealed for the first time the existence of Jewish property both to the *east* of the Temple and *above* the Egyptian quarter of the god Khnum.[5] Two considerations led Kraeling to identify "above" with "north" and "below" with "south": 1. a similar phraseology in certain Babylonian property descriptions; 2. the fact that the Khnum Temple was located *south* of the district where the Aramaic papyri were found.[6] Thus a house that lay *above* the Egyptian quarter must have been *north* of that neighborhood. On the basis of this new information and his insight therein Kraeling presented a revised plan of the Jewish district (Fig. 2).[7]

Careful examination of the papyri, however, reveals that if "above" means "north" then Espemet could not be *south-west* of Mahseiah-Mibtahiah (as pictured by Kraeling) but must lie *north-west*. Accordingly, both houses must be tilted 90° clockwise.[8]

[3] *Une Communauté Judéo-Araméenne à Éléphantine, en Égypte, aux VI^e et V^e siècles av. J.-C.* (London, 1915), facing p. 14. In preparing this and the following figures I changed some of the designations of Hoonacker (e.g. "King's Highway" instead of "King's Street") and of Kraeling (e.g. "King's Highway" instead of "Road") as well as the transliteration of names to attain uniformity of spelling and nomenclature in each of the three diagrams. The diagrams were drawn by Mr. Herbert Kieffer of Chicago.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

[5] *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven, 1953) (=B.). Cf. B. 3:7-10, 9:8-11, 10:3-6, 12:17-21.

[6] Two further considerations may be noted: 1. the term for "north" in Sanskrit derives from a word meaning "upper" [cf. C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 873]; 2. since the Jewish garrison was located at the southern end of the island and island surfaces generally slope down to their shores, "below" (perhaps to be rendered "downtown") would usually be "south" and conversely "above" would be "north" (or "uptown")—so Ginsberg, *JAOS*, 74 (1954), 154.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

[8] When I first presented this paper I followed the hypothesis set forth in 1909 by the German excavator Otto Rubensohn [W. Honroth, O. Rubensohn, F. Zucker, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf Elephantine in den Jahren 1906-1908," *ZÄS*, 46 (1909-1910), 29 f.] and tentatively accepted by Kraeling (*op. cit.*, p. 80 f.) that the "King's Highway" was to be identified with street *p* of the German excavations. The identification

What are the implications of this observation for the structure and orientation of the Temple? Hoonacker concluded that the Temple was in nowise constructed on the model of that in Jeru-

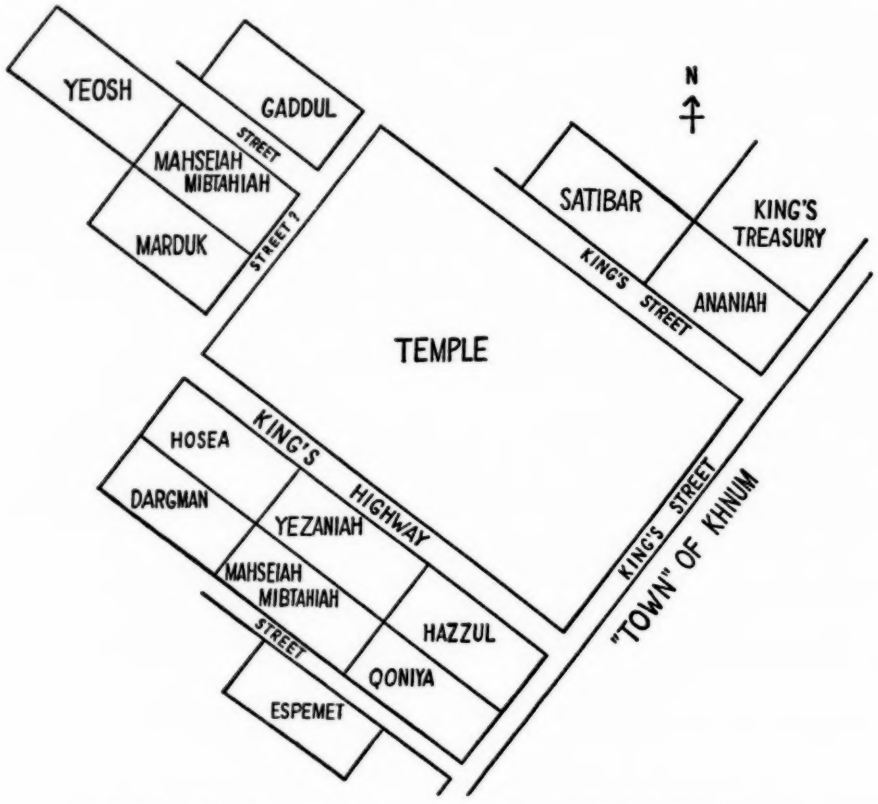

FIG. 2. Temple and its environs according to Emil G. Kraeling.

On the basis of structural details given in Yedoniah's letter to Bagohi in 407 (A. P. 30:8-12) salem.[9] True, the differences are striking; though if our knowledge were greater we might find their

seemed plausible because the Mahseiah papyri had presumably been found (Honroth *et. al.*, 14) in front of a building wall (marked *m1*) which lay west of *p*. The building *m* would thus be Mahseiah's house. But further examination reveals that *p* runs NNW whereas according to the considerations set forth herein the "King's Highway" runs NE (cf. Fig. 3). Moreover, the efforts of Rubensohn to uncover the Temple on the site east of *p* were unsuccessful (Honroth *et al.*, 30). Clermont-Ganneau, on the other hand, contemporaneously digging in the neighboring French concession, was convinced that the Temple lay on another site, albeit just across the border in the German concession (apparently in the vicinity of γ), and so not given to him to excavate [Letter to De Vogüé, March 5, 1908, published by J.-B. Chabot, "Les Fouilles de Clermont-Ganneau à Éléphantine," *Journal des Savants*, 1944, pp. 136, 138, 140. I cannot understand how the excavators in the brief 1918 Italian expedition, unhampered by concession boundaries, could agree with Clermont-Ganneau's location of the Temple site and yet suggest that *q-q'* on their diagram (apparently *p* on the German diagram) is the "King's Highway" (A. Strazzulli, P. Bovier-Lapierre, Séb. Ronzevalle, "Rapport sur les Fouilles à Éléphantine de l'Institute Biblique Pontifical en 1918," *ASAE*, 18 {1919}, 4, 6 f.)]. Furthermore, *m* may not have been Mahseiah's house for in/by that same building the bulk of the Sachau papyri were found (Honroth *et al.*, pp. 14, 29). This might indicate a communal archive. Finally we may note that ancient destruction and rebuilding prevented Honroth and his colleagues from fitting together walls *m1*, *m2* and *m3* into something that would resemble a house. Similarly, in the absence of clear stratigraphy, we cannot be sure that street *p*—whose narrow width of 1.5 m. would seem to render it an unlikely candidate for the "King's Highway" in any case—is contemporaneous with *m* nor even that *m3* [referred to as "the late wall" (Honroth *et al.*, 29)] is contemporaneous with *m1* and *m2*. Archeological confirmation of the Temple location and orientation must await further excavation.

[9] *Op. cit.*, 53.

justification in local conditions. But what of the similarities? We may now point out one which appears significant—dimensions. We are not given the dimensions of the Temple, but perhaps we may deduce them from two adjacent houses whose dimensions are given.

learn that this house is bounded on the north by Yeosh and on the south by the Temple; on the west by Marduk and on the east, across an intervening street, by Gaddul. Since this house could theoretically be tilted either 45° counterclockwise, as was A. P. 6, or 45° clockwise, as was A. P. 8, to

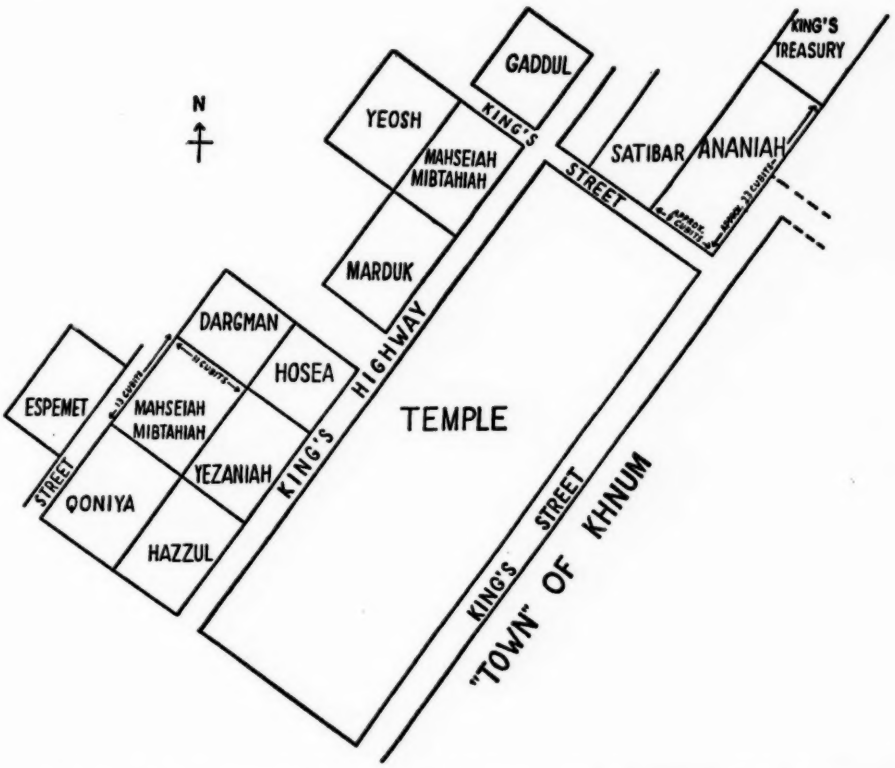

FIG. 3. Revised plan of Temple and its environs. Orientation of Temple is toward Jerusalem. Dimensions approximate those of Solomonic Temple.

One of these houses in Mahseiah's very own. It measures 13 cubits and 1 handbreadth by 11 cubits (A. P. 8:4-5). Now if the other two houses on either side of Mahseiah-Mibtahiah, and by inference those directly and diagonally opposite (viz. Hazzul, Yezaniah, and Hosea), are of comparable dimensions, then we have a figure of more than 30 cubits for the side of the Temple extending from NE to SW. Were there any other houses NW of the Temple? We referred above to a fourth papyrus utilized by Hoonacker in drawing up his plan. This is A. P. 13 and deals with the conveyance by Mahseiah to Mibtahiah of another house bordering on the Temple. In 11. 13-15 we attain correct geographical location, it might lie either NW or NE of the Temple. Now we know of two other houses that lay NE of the Temple, across the "King's Street." The dimensions of one of them are given, albeit eluding precision. Roughly, the dimensions of Ananiah's house are 8×23 cubits, the shorter side facing the Temple (B. 9:6-7, 12:15-16).[10] So if Mibtahiah's second

[10] Cf. Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, 162. I have incorporated his "conclusion that the public thoroughfare . . . did not reach all the way to the eastern end of the southern side of the property originally purchased by Anani bar Azariah, but either curved southwards or ended in a blind alley at some point before the eastern end of that south side" (p. 160) into my Fig. 3.

house and those of her neighbors (Marduk and Gaddul) also lay NE of the Temple and if we figure a mean dimension of 10 cubits for the front of each house, add another 10 for the intervening street, then the NW-SE side would measure some 60 cubits. If there were no more houses on the other side of the Temple, its dimensions would be roughly 60 × 30 and its orientation would be NW. If there were, and we have no way of knowing, then the Temple would approximate a square rather than a rectangle.

On the other hand, if Mibtahiah's new house is retained for the NW side we arrive at more significant results. Assuming that the street that separates her house from that of Gaddul to the east continues the "King's Street" that separates the Temple from Ananiah, then the NE-SW side of the Temple (lying opposite Mibtahiah, Marduk, X, Hosea, Yezaniah, and Hazzul)[11] would measure roughly 60 cubits. Two houses NE of the Temple would give the NW-SE side of the Temple roughly 20 cubits. This last figure is further substantiated by the fact that the Temple was ceiled by cedar wood (A.P. 30:11). As observed by Kraeling, a "cedarwood roof obviously made a narrow building necessary."[12] The Temple, then, would indeed be a rectangle whose dimensions remind one of Solomon's Temple (1 Ki. 6:2) and whose orientation is NE—i.e. toward Jerusalem (Fig. 3).

Hitherto the earliest archeological evidence for synagogue orientation toward Jerusalem was to be found in the Galilean synagogues of the second century C.E.,[13] while the earliest written evidence for the orientation of prayer toward Jerusalem was Dan. 6:11, dating from the middle of the third century B.C.E.[14] We may now date the sacred orientation as early as the sixth century when the Temple is first known to have been in existence (A.P. 30:13-14). So whatever prompted these Jewish soldiers to erect a Temple on this Egyptian island outpost, it apparently was not opposition to Jerusalem.[15] If when their Temple was destroyed in 410 by Egyptian priests in collaboration with the Persian governor (A.P. 30:4-13), they looked for some sort of intercession from the priesthood and nobility of Jerusalem, it was doubtless because they, like their brethren during the time of Philo, regarded their residence as their "fatherland" but Jerusalem as their "mother city" (cf. *In Flaccum*, vii. 45-46).

[11] The "X" indicates our ignorance as to whether another house or empty lot intervened between the houses of Marduk and Hosea or whether these two were adjacent. The gap between them in Fig. 3 thus merely indicates the gap in our knowledge.

[12] *Op. cit.*, 102. For the identification of *'rz* with some conifer other than cedrus libani—perhaps the genus abies cilicia—see L. Kohler, *ZAW*, 55 (1937), 163 ff. It is not clear from Kraeling just *how* narrow he imagines the Temple must have been. We can assume beams as short as 10 cubits (roughly 5 meters) by supposing a row of pillars—stone pillars *are* mentioned in A.P. 30:9—crossing the Temple lengthwise and dividing its span in two. If by *'rz* we are to understand longer beams such as abies cilicia then the 20 cubits could be easily spanned.

[13] See most recently F. Landsberger, "The Sacred Direction in Synagogue and Church," *HUCA*, 28 (1957), 183.

[14] Cf. Ginsberg, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel," *VT*, 4 (1954), 254. Cf. also 1 Esd. 4:58 and Tob. 3:11.

[15] That it may have been prompted by the idea expressed in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Jerusalem Temple (1 Ki. 8) was suggested by Prof. Herbert G. May in the discussion that followed delivery of this paper. Solomon envisages the Temple not only as a place *in* which Israelites may call upon God (8:33) but also *toward* which they may direct their prayer from foreign soil (v. 44). A *given* land, a *chosen* city, and a *special* sanctuary all merit the *qibla* (v. 48). I hope to treat in the future both the relation of 1 Ki. 8 to the rest of the material of Solomon and the implications of the conclusions reached above for dating the origin of the Jewish colony at Elephantine.

WESTERN LOANWORDS IN MODERN PASHTO

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ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING lexical problems in the modern languages of Asia is the influence of western culture and modern technology on the vocabulary. Pashto is the language spoken mostly in the east, south, and southwest of Afghanistan, the northwest of West Pakistan and in the border area between the two countries; it is beside Persian the official language of Afghanistan, but only a regional language in Pakistan, which favors Urdu. A major part of the learned and scientific vocabulary of Pashto has been derived from the Persian-Arabic tradition, and the number and status of these loans troubled lexicographers in the past (*e.g.*, H. W. Bellow; cf. his *Dictionary of the Pukkhto Language*, preface, p. vii). This study will deal with the loanwords from English, French, and German found in the modern literary language and in the educated speech of Afghanistan. It is based in the main on the investigation of the usage of the Kabul dailies *Hēwād* and, particularly, *Islāh* from June, 1958, to May, 1959, as well as on work with educated speakers of Pashto.[1] We will deal with the following aspects of the loanword problem: the fields of meaning represented in the corpus (§ 1); the phonemics of the loanwords and their sources (§ 2); their morphological features (§ 3); the morphemic variation among loanwords (§ 4).

1: THE CORPUS OF WESTERN LOANWORDS

The words from Western sources that we find in the Pashto lexicon reveal the areas in which Western ways, cultures, and technology have influenced the country: the familiar "Wörter und Sachen" correlation remains valid. The names of many foreign countries (§ 1.1), of Western measures, weights, and months (§ 1.2) are loanwords. We find among them terms for European clothing, food, objects (§ 1.3); political, commercial, and administrative terms (§ 1.4); scientific and technological vocabulary (§ 1.5), particularly in the field of motor transport (§ 1.6); terms in medicine and education (§ 1.7), culture and sport (§ 1.8). We cannot quote the entire loanword corpus, but shall try to include the most representative examples, which are usually listed alphabetically in each group.

1.1. Geographical Terms

Most of the names of foreign countries and nationalities are derived from English, some of them from French.[2] Examples are: *amrikā, amrika* 'America,' *āstəriyā, ōtriš* 'Austria' (French *Autriche*), *čəkōsəlwākiya* (Sh), *čikōsalwākiyā* (E) 'Czechoslovakia,' *ḍənmārk* 'Denmark,' *fərāns, fərānsa* 'France' (F *France*) *'hālēnḍ* (Sh), *hālind, hālānd, hālinḍ* (E), *hālaynd* (Gh) 'Holland,' *inglisī, angrēzī* 'English' (F *anglais*), *jərməni* (Sh), *jarman, almān* (E)[3] 'Germany' (F *Allemagne*), *kānāḍā* 'Canada,' *'nārwē* 'Norway,' *nəway zilānḍ, niwzilēnḍ* 'New Zealand,' *pōlēnḍ* (Sh) 'Poland,' *səwiḍən* (Sh), *siwīḍan* (E), *səwēdan* (Gh) 'Sweden' (German *Schweden*), *silun* 'Ceylon,' *switzərlēnḍ, səwīs, swəzarlaynd* (Gh) 'Switzerland' (F *Suisse*), *tāylind* (E) 'Thailand,' *yugōsəlāwiya* (Sh), *yugōsalāwiyā* (E) 'Yugoslavia.'

[1] Mohammad Rahim Elham and others in Kabul in 1959; Abdul Ghafoor (from Kohdaman near Kabul) and Noor Ahmad Shaker (from Kandahar) in Ann Arbor, 1960. The work in Kabul was assisted by a grant from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan; the work in Ann Arbor is linked to the Research Project in Near and Middle Eastern Languages, which includes a Pashto-English dictionary project. The varying usage of the native speakers is, if pertinent, marked by E (Elham), Gh (Ghafoor), Sh (Shaker), respectively. The contexts of the *Hēwād* and *Islāh* occurrences are never, their dates only rarely, given.

[2] The following transcription symbols are used in this article for the Pashto words:
vowels: *a ā ē i ī ō u ū* (see § 2.1, 2.2 below)
resonants: *w y l r ṛ n m ṇ* (§ 2.3c)
stops and spirants: *b p d t ḍ ṭ g k q f h x* (voiceless velar spirant) *ġ* (voiced velar spirant)
sibilants: *s z š ž* retroflexed (in Kandahar): *ṣ ẓ*
Nonfinal stress is indicated: *e.g., 'ēpril*
This transcription differs from the one used in my *Grammar of Pashto: A Descriptive Study of the Dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan* (Washington, D.C.: ACLS, 1955), quoted below as *Grammar of Pashto.*

[3] Cf. L. Bogdanow, "Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian," *Journal Proc. As. Soc. Bengal,* XXVI (1930), p. 81.

1. 2. Measures, Months

Among names of Western measures derived from Western languages, we find: *inč* 'inch,' *gēlən* 'gallon,' *kīlōgərām, kilōgirām, kēlō* 'kg' (F *kilogramme*, G *Kilogramm*), *mitər, mitr* 'meter,' *milyūn* 'million' (F *million*, G *Million*), *milyārḍ, milyār, bilyun* 'billion' (F *milliard*, G *Milliarde*), *nambar, lambar* 'number,' *sānti* 'centimeter' (F *centimetre*), *sāntigrēṭ, sāntigrād* (E) 'centigrade' (F *centigrade*), *ṭan* 'ton.'

The names of the Western solar months are mostly derived from English: *jinwəri* (Sh), *janwarī* 'January,' *firwəri, fibrwarī*, coll. *farwarī* 'February,' *mārč, mārs* (E) 'March' (F *mars*), *aprēl, ('ēpril)* 'April' (G *April*), *may* 'May' (G *Mai*), *jūn, jōn* (Sh) 'June,' *jūlāy, jūlāī, jōlāyi* (Sh) 'July,' *āgist, agasṭ* 'August,' *sētambar, sitimbar, sitambar, siptimbar* 'September' (F *septembre*, G *September*), *aktubar, āktōbar* 'October,' *nawimbar, nəwimbar, nuwambar* 'November' (F *novembre*), *dasimbar, dīsimbar, disambar, disāmbar* 'December' (F *décembre*).

1. 3. Clothing, Objects, Food

Western articles of clothing are represented by Western terms: *buṭ, bōṭ* 'boot,' *ḍabal* 'strong, thick' (Engl. *double*),[4] *fēšən* 'toilet, dressing up' (Engl. *fashion*), *kālar* 'collar,' *kōṭ* 'coat, overcoat,' *lākit* 'locket,' *midāl* (E), *madāl* (Gh), *mədāl* (Sh) 'medal' (F *médaille*), *nikṭāyi, niktāyī, ṭāī* (in Peshawar) 'necktie,' *patlun, pətlun* (Sh) 'pants, trousers' (F *pantalon*), *waskaṭ, wāskaṭ* 'waistcoat, vest.'

Some terms for objects and household items that have come in from the West are loanwords: *baks, 'bakəs*, also *baksa, 'bəkas* in Peshawar 'box,' *banḍal* 'bundle,' *bōtal* 'bottle' (F *bouteille*), *gēlās, gilās* 'glass,' *jag* '(water)-jug,' *kārk, kāk* 'cork,' *nōṭ, lōṭ* 'note, bill,' *pākat* 'packet,' *pārsal* 'parcel,' *pinsal, pinsil, pinsin* 'pencil,' *puskāṭ* 'postcard,' *sālun* 'reception-room, parlor' (F *salon*), *štōp, ištōp* '(cooking)-stove,' *ṭim* 'tin-can.'

A few loanwords refer to food and connected items: *āmliṭ* 'omelette,' *jəli* 'jelly,' *kāfī, kāpi* 'coffee,' *kēk* 'cake,' *mārkēṭ* 'market, (modern) chainstore,' *pōḍar, pōḍər* 'powder' (F *poudre*, G *Puder*), *pūdin, pūḍin* 'pudding,' *paṭāṭē* 'potatoes,' *sigriṭ, sigrēṭ* 'cigarette,' *sṭrābəri* 'strawberry.'

[4] Cf. James Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans* (Paris, 1888-1890), pp. 275 f.: "Words Borrowed from English."

1. 4. Administrative and Political Terms

Many administrative, commercial, and political terms are loanwords from Western languages: *asāmbla* 'meeting, assembly' (F *assemblée*), *aṭāša* 'attaché' (F *attaché*), *āžāns* '(news) agency' (F *agence*), *bānk* 'bank,' *blāk* 'block,' *budija, bōdija* 'budget' (F *budget*), *čāns* 'chance,' *diktāturī* 'dictatorship; dictatorial,' *dimōkrāsī, dīmōkərasī* (Gh) 'democracy,' *fašistī* 'fascism,' *grūp* 'group,' *impriyālisṭī* 'imperialistic,' *kābina* 'cabinet' (F *cabinet*), *kampanī* 'company,' *kantrōl, kanṭrōl* 'control,' *kōmiṭa, kumīṭa* 'committee' (F *comité*), *kumisyūn, kəmisyun* 'commission, committee' (F *comission*, G *Kommission*), *kāndidawəm, kāndiḍawəm* 'I run (somebody) as candidate,' *kəmōnizəm* 'communism,' *kəmōnisṭ* (Sh) 'communist,' *list* 'list' (F *liste*, G *Liste*), *nōrmāl, nurmāl, nārmal* 'normal' (F *normal*, G *normal*), *pālisī* 'policy,' *pārelmān, pārlamān* (Gh) 'parliament' (F *parlement*), *plān* 'plan' (F *plan*, G *Plan*), *prōža, pərōža* 'project' (F *projet*), *pulis, pōlis*, coll. *pəlus* 'police' (F *police*), *prōgrām, pərōgərām* 'program' (F *programme*, G *Programm*), *prōṭisṭ* 'protest,' *prōtōkōl* 'protocol' (F *protocole*, G *Protokoll*), *rapōṭ, rāpōṭ, rāpōrṭ, rāpōr* (Gh) 'report' (F *rapport*), *rəžim, ražim* 'regime' (F *régime*), *rifərəndum* 'referendum,' *rōl* 'role' (F *rôle*), *sistum, sisṭam* 'system,' *sōsyālizm* 'socialism' (F *socialisme*), *sōsyālisṭ, sōsyālist* 'socialist' (F *socialiste*), *yuniṭ* 'unit,' *žūrnālist* 'journalist' (F *journaliste*).

Some military terms are loanwords: *afsar, awsar* 'officer,' *gārd, gārḍ* 'guard' (F *garde*), *jinrāl* 'general' (newly established rank), *mārš, marč* 'march' (F *marche*, G *Marsch*), *pəlṭən, palṭan* (Engl. battalion), *qumāndān, kōməndān* 'commander' (F *commandant*, G *Kommandant*), *žāndārm* 'gendarme' (F *gendarme*).

1. 5. Scientific and Technical Vocabulary

Some scientific terms are Western loanwords: *atum, ātum, aṭəm* 'atom' (F *atome*, G *Atom*), *fārmul, fōrmul* 'formula' (F *formule*), *iskilēt, skilēṭ* 'skeleton' (G *Skelett*, F *squelette*), *kēmyā, (kimistrī)* 'chemistry' (G *Chemie*), *pizik, (fiziks)* 'physics' (G *Physik*, F *physique*), *sarwē* 'survey,' *'sāyins, siyāns* 'science' (F *science*).

A large number of technological terms have been borrowed: *bagəy* 'tonga,' *bam, bəm* 'bomb,' *bāysikəl, bāysikēl* 'bicycle,' *bitūn* 'concrete' (F *béton*, G *Beton*), *bōlṭ* 'bolt,' *fābrīka, pābrika* 'factory'

(G *Fabrik*), *fiyūz* 'fuse,' *girāmfun* 'record-player, gramophone' (F *gramophone*, G *Grammophon*), *'jita alwatáka* 'jet plane,' *kāmra, kamra* 'camera' (G *Kamera*), *kānāl* 'canal' (F *Canal*, G *Kanal*), *kališa* 'plate, block (typogr.)' (F *cliché*), *kānkrēt, kānkrēṭ* 'concrete,' *kēbal, kēbəl* '(telephone-) exchange' (Engl. *cable*), *layn* 'line,' *māšīn, māšin* 'machine, engine' (F *machine*, G *Maschine*), *māšīngaṇ, māšīngan* (Sh) 'machine gun,' *mikrōfūn, māykrōfun* 'microphone' (F *microphone*, G *Mikrophon*), *mikrōskōb, māykrōskōp* 'microscope' (F *microscope*, G *Mikroskop*), *mixānīk* 'mechanic' (G. *Mechaniker*), *mōtōr* 'engine' (G *Motor*), *pamp* 'pump,' *parāšūṭ, pārāšuṭ* 'parachute' (F *parachute*), *rākiṭ, rākit* 'rocket,' *sākiṭ* 'socket' or *wālsākiṭ* (Engl. *wall socket*), *siminṭ, simiṭ, simēṭ* 'cement,' *taxnīk* 'technique' (G *Technik*), *taxnikī* 'technical' (G *technisch*), *talwēzyūn* 'television' (F *télévision*), *ṭayp* 'typewriter,' *tēləfun, tilifūn, təlipun* 'telephone' (G *Telephon*, F *téléphone*), *tēləfunī, təlipuni*, also *laynmayn* (Gh) 'telephone repairman,' *tēlēgrām, tiligrām, tēləgrām* 'telegram' (G *Telegramm*, F *télégramme*), *ṭēp* 'tape,' *ṭēprikārḍər* 'tape-recorder,' *tōnal, ṭōnal* 'tunnel' (G *Tunnel*, F *tunnel*), *wayr* 'wire.'

1. 6. Motor Transport and Maintenance Terms

Almost all the terms that concern motor transport, parts of the motor-car and its maintenance have been borrowed from English: *aksal* 'axle,' *anḍal* 'handle, *bādī, bādəy* 'body,' *bānaṭ* 'hood' (Engl. *bonnet*), *birik*, in Peshawar also *barēk* 'brake,' *bēlar* 'big can, barrel' (Engl. *boiler*), *biṭrī, bəṭrəy* 'battery,' *čēn* 'chain,' *daynamō* 'dynamo,' *gēr, gīr* 'gear,' *girīs, gərīs* 'grease,' *iksilētar, aksilēṭər* 'gas pedal' (Engl. *accelerator*), *injin* or *māšīn* 'engine,' *istēšən, stēšən*, in Peshawar *ṭēsan* 'station,' *ištīring, ištəring, štiring* 'steering-wheel,' *jak, jēk, jayk* 'jack,' *kalač, klač* 'clutch,' *kərankis* 'crankcase,' *kārbēṭar, kārburēṭar* 'carburator,' *kilīnar, klīnar, kəlēnər* (Sh), in Peshawar *kəlinḍər* 'driver's assistant' (Engl. *cleaner*), *lārī, lārəy* 'lorry, truck,' *lēsans, laysans, lēsəns* 'licence' (F *licence*), *mōblāyl, mublayl, mōblayn, məblayn* 'oil' (Engl. *Mobiloil*), *mōṭar* 'motor-car,' *mōtarsāykal, mōtarsikēl, mōṭərsikəl* 'motorcycle' (F *motocyclette*), *naṭ* 'nut,' *palak, plag* 'plug,' *palās* 'pliers,' *pāyḍal* 'pedal,' *pampar* 'bumper,' *pančar* 'punctured,' *pančarēdəl* 'become punctured,' *pančarī* 'puncture,' *pēṭrōl, piṭrōl* 'gasoline' (Engl, *petrol*), *pištum* 'piston,' *rābar, (rəbəṛ), ləbəṛ* (Sh) 'rubber,' *rēdētər*, coll. *ləlētar* 'radiator,' *rinj, rēnč* 'wrench,' *sarwēs, sərwēs* 'busline, bus' (F *service*, Engl. *service*), *sīt, sīṭ* 'seat,' *tayr, ṭayr, 'ṭayər* (Sh) 'tire,' *ṭikis, ṭəkis* 'ticket,' *trāfīk, tərāfīk* 'traffic' (F *trafic*), *trānspōrt, ṭranspōrṭ* 'transport, transportation,' *tulbaks, ṭulbaks* 'tool-box,' *tup, ṭup* 'tube,' *wāl* 'valve,' *wōlding* 'welding.'

1. 7. Educational and Medical Terms

In the field of higher education we find a number of loanwords, mostly from French: *ḍāktər, ḍāktar, duktūr* 'doctor' (F *docteur*, G *Doktor*), *dəktūra, ḍāktəri* 'doctorate' (F *doctorat*), *fākōlta*, coll. *pākōlta* 'faculty, college' (F *faculté*, G *Fakultät*), *filōšip, fēlōšip* 'fellowship,' *kanfərāns* 'lecture' (F *conférence*), *kurs, kōrs* 'course' (G *Kurs*, F *cours*), *lābrātwār* 'laboratory' (F *laboratoire*), *lēsa, lisa* 'high-school' (F *lycée*), *lisāns* 'bachelor's degree' (F *licence*), *lisānsa* 'holder of bachelor's degree' (F *licensié*), *sēmināṛ* 'seminar' (G *Seminar*), *skālaršip* 'scholarship.'

The following loanwords occur in the field of medicine: *iksərīz, iksrēz* 'X-rays,' *influinzā* 'influenza' (F *influenza*, G *Influenza*), *malāriyā, malārya* 'malaria' (G *Malaria*), *sanātōriyum, sanātōriyəm* 'sanatorium' (G *Sanatorium*), *wāksin* 'vaccine,' *wāksināsiūn, wāksinēšan* 'vaccination (F *vaccination*), *wīrūs* 'virus.'

1. 8. Cultural, Social, Sport Terms

Cultural and social activities have contributed more loanwords: *ārtīst, arṭəsṭ* 'artist' (F *artiste*), *brōḍkāsṭ, brādkāst* 'broadcast,' *ḍrāma, ḍərāma, ḍrām* 'play' (Engl. *drama*, G *Drama*, F *drame*), *film, 'filəm* 'film,' *huṭal* 'hotel,' *muzyam, mōzyam, muza, mōza* 'museum' (F *musée*, G *Museum*), *muzīk, mōzīk* 'band, orchestra' (Engl. *music*, F *musique*, G *Musik*), *kāfī, kāpi* 'café' (F *café*), *kansərṭ, kānsarṭ* 'concert,' *klub, klup, klab* 'club' (G *Klub*), *kultūr, kaltur, kalčar* 'culture' (G *Kultur*), *kaltōrī* 'cultural,' *rāḍiyō* 'radio' (G *Radio*), *rikārḍ, rikāṭ* 'record,' *sṭēj* 'stage,' *sinəmā* 'cinema, movie theatre' (F *cinéma*), *tablō, tāblō* 'painting' (F *tableau*).

Western sports have brought their terminology into Pashto: *čēlinj* 'challenge,' *fuṭbāl, fōṭbāl* 'football,' *hākī* 'hockey,' *spōt, spōrṭ, səport* 'sport, athletics,' *stāḍiyum, stuḍiyam, sṭēḍyam* 'stadium' (G *Stadion*), *ṭēnis* 'tennis,' *ṭīm* 'team,' *wālibāl* 'volleyball.'

2. The Rendering of Foreign Phonemes in Pashto

2.1. Pashto Short Vowels

Pashto has the following short vowels which are used to render phonemes in loanwords: /i/ (allophones: lower high front and higher mid front), /a/ (low central or low back unrounded), /ə/ (mid central and higher mid central), /u/ (allophones: lower high back and higher mid back rounded).

Pashto /i/ reflects the vowels of English *bit* and *bet* in *inglisī, 'jita, filōšip, sitimbar, simint, siwič, ṭikis*; weak-stressed German and French *i* in *mikrōfūn, mikrōskōb.* /i/ alternates with /ī/: *māšīn, māšin* (§ 4.3b below).

Pashto /a/ renders the vowel of English *but* in *ḍabal, jag, palak, pamp, ṭan*; the vowel of English *bat* in *aksal, jak, janwarī*; the vowel of English *pot* in *afsar, bam, baks, kansərṭ*; French and German *a* sounds in *pakt* 'pact,' *sanātōriyum, tablō*; with /r/ the medial phoneme in English *hurt*: *jarmanī, sarwē.* Loud-stressed /a/ is common before *r l n*, where English shows an unstressed glide or a syllabic resonant: *aksal, āktubar, mōṭar, pārsal, pōḍar, siwīḍan.* /a/ often alternates with /ā/: *tāblō.*

Pashto /ə/ renders vowels in unstressed syllables of English words and appears in personal or regional variation with /a/: *jərmənī* (§ 4.3c below), *arjəntāyn* 'Argentine,' *jəlī, ārṭəsṭ, rəžim.*

Pashto /u/ renders the loud-stressed vowels of English *boot, foot, beauty* in *buṭ, fuṭbāl, tup*, short German *u* in *klup, kultūr, muzīk*; German and French weak-stressed *o* in *duktūr, kumisyūn, pulis.* /u/ frequently alternates with /ū/: *tēləfun, tilifūn* (§ 4.3b below).

2.2. Pashto Long Vowels and Dipthongs

Pashto has in all dialects the following long vowels which are used to render foreign phonemes in loanwords: /ē/ (mid front with raised allophones), /ā/ (low central unrounded or low back rounded), /ō/ (mid back rounded with raised allophones). /ī/ (high front) and /ū/ (high back rounded) occur in some Pashto dialects mainly when rendering phonemes in Persian loanwords (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 5.3, 6.3). Two diphthongs /ay/ and /āy/ occur frequently.

Pashto /ē/, written as the so-called 'majhula yē,' renders the diphthong in English *bait*: *iksilētar, kēk, ṭēp, sarwē*; the medial phoneme in English *beat* in *gēr* (beside *gīr*), the vowel of English *bat in fēšən, jēk, pōlēnḍ*; French and German *i* and *e* sounds in *aprēl, sarwēs, lēsa* (also *lisa*), *sēmināṛ.*

Pashto /ā/, which resembles in Pashto dialects either the vowel of English *father* or of *law*, renders both of them in loanwords, some of them with a British English pronounciation base: *brōḍkāsṭ, čāns, gilās, kārk, rikārḍ, wālibāl.* It reflects the vowel of English *pot* in *hākī, lārī, pālisī*; German and French *a* sounds in *ātum* (besides *atum*), *fābrīka, kānāl, malāriyā, plān, rāḍiyō*; French nasalized *a* in *āžāns, disāmbar, pārəlmān, sāntigrād, žāndārm*; *a* before French palatalized sounds in *almān, midāl.* Unusual is the rendering in *rābar* 'rubber,' *palās* 'pliers.'

Pashto /ō/ reflects the diphthong in English *boat*: *bōlṭ, kōṭ, mōṭar, štōp.* /ō/ renders English *or* in *rāpōrṭ* (also *rāpōṭ*), *spōrṭ, ṭrānspōrṭ.* It alternates with /ū/ and /u/ in *jōn, mōza, mōzik.* It renders German and French long *o* in *rāḍiyō, sanātōryum, sōsyālist, tablō, mōtōr.* /ō/ in *brōḍkāsṭ* may be partly a spelling pronunciation, in *bōtal, pōḍar, ṭōnal* reflect the values of F *bouteille, poudre*, G *Tunnel.*

Pashto /ī/, written as the so-called 'ma'rufa yē,' reflects (in some dialects only in a formal pronunciation) the vowel in English *beat*: *kilīnar, pālisī*, also German and French long *i* sounds: *fābrīka, māšīn, muzīk, taxnīk.*

Pashto /ū/ reflects the loud-stressed vowels of English *boot* and *beauty* in *parāšūṭ, jūn*, also German and French long *u* sounds: *e.g., kultūr, grūp*; *o* sounds, particularly the nasalized French *o* sound: *duktūr, bitūn, kumisyūn, mikrōfūn, milyūn, sālūn, tilifūn.*

Pashto /ay/ and /āy/ render the diphthong in English *bite*: *layn, ṭayr, ṭayp, wayr*, and *bāysikəl, sāyins.* /ay/ renders sometimes the vowel in English *bat*: *hālaynd, laynmayn* (Gh), *jayk* (Sh).

2.3. Pashto Consonants

(a) The Pashto stops /b p g k/, resonants /r l m n/, sibilants /s š z ž/, the affricates /j č/, the spirant /f/ render the corresponding foreign phonemes in loanwords: *baks, filōšip, jag, pamp, pārk, ražim.* /q/ occurs in *qumāndān* (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 39). In some words final voiceless stops render foreign voiced stops: *rikāṭ* (besides *rikārḍ*), *sāntigreṭ* 'centigrade' (French, English).

The Pashto voiceless velar fricative /x/ renders the German voiceless fricative spelled 'ch' in *taxnīk, taxnīkī, mixānīk.*

(b) The fortis prepalatal retroflexed stops /ḍ/ and /ṭ/ rather than the dentals /d/ and /t/ render the English alveolar stops *d* and *t*: *bōlṭ, ḍabal, ḍrāma, fuṭbāl, kānāḍā, ṭep* (*Grammar of Pashto* §§ 24, 25). Pashto /d/ and /t/ seem to render the French and Persian dentals: *hōtal, dimōkrāsī, tēləfun* (see § 4.4 below).

In prevocalic position the Pashto semivowel /y/ often, usually alternating with /iy/, renders foreign syllabic *i* sounds: *rāḍyō, rāḍiyō*; *malāryā, malāriyā*.

Pashto /w/, *i.e.*, nonsyllabic *u*, renders both English *w* and *v*, French *v* and nonsyllabic *u*: *sarwē, sarwēs, siwič, wayr, səwīs*.

(c) /f/ is a phoneme borrowed from Persian into Pashto. Pashto /p/ instead of /f/ appears colloquially in Persian and in Western loanwords: *kāpi* and *kāfī, pābrika* and *fābrīka* (*Grammar of Pashto* §§ 20.3, 38).

/l/ instead of /n/ in *lambar* (besides *nambar*), *lōṭ* (besides *nōṭ*); and /n/ instead of /l/ in *mōblayn* (besides *mōblayl*), *pinsin* (besides *pinsil*) show unusual representations which reveal partly a tendency toward dissimilation. Unusual are the reflexes in *rəbəṛ, ləbəṛ* (besides *rābar*), where the retroflex lateral flap /ɽ/ appears; in *māšingaṇ* (besides *māšingan*), where we find the nasalized retroflexed lateral flap /ɳ/ (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 15, 19).

(d) Some initial English clusters are rendered in Pashto with an intrusive or prothetic vowel, which indicates the influence of a parallel Afghan Persian form: *birik, iskilēt, istēšən, ištīring, gilās, gēlās, kilōgirām, siwič, siwīḍan*. This vowel has often the quality of the vowel following the cluster: *kalač, palak, siwič*, sometimes *kulup* 'club.'

Pashto /št/ renders English /st/ in *ištīring, štōp*, 'stove' (/p/ for English final *v*). There does not seem to be any connection with the Pashto dialectal variation between /š/ and /s/ (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 30.2). In Peshawar the cluster is frequently rendered by a simple consonant: *ṭēšən* 'station,' *ṭēsən* (*Islāh*, September 17, 1958, in a Karachi dispatch), *ṭūl* 'stool,' *tōs, tōš* 'toast.'[5]

Irregularities in cluster representation show *budija* with an intrusive vowel, *pančari* 'puncture' (without /k/). Final /s/ in *ṭikis* 'ticket' may reflect the plural form 'tickets.'

2.4. Phonemic Substitution in Pashto

(a) The examples given above show that, on the whole, Pashto phonemes render foreign phonemes according to phonetic similarity. The words have usually final stress in Pashto even if the corresponding foreign forms do not: *āgist* 'August,' *ḍabal* 'double,' *stēšən* 'station' (but *'hālēnḍ, 'nārwē, 'ēpril*). It is usually possible to derive the foreign base-form from the phonemic shape of the loanword in Pashto. Differences in the underlying English types have to be considered: *e.g., mārč, rikārḍ, rāpōrṭ* reflect the type where postvocalic *r* is pronounced, *rikāṭ, rāpōṭ* the type where it is not.

(b) Also Pashto dialects vary in their phonetic structure. /a/ in *jak* 'jack' suggests a more palatal vowel in the originally borrowing Pashto dialect; /a/ in *afsar, baks*, on the other hand, a velar quality (see § 2.1 above). In some Pashto dialects /ā/ differs from /a/ only in its quantity, in others it is more velar and rounded. Thus different values in different borrowing dialects can render with perfect regularity of substitution English *or* and *ar* and the vowels in English *father, law, pot*: *kārk* 'cork,' *pārk* 'park,' etc.

(c) The presence of Afghan Persian loanword forms and their influence on Pashto explains some reflexes (see § 2.3b, d): *sistum* with /t/, *dimōkərāsī* with /d/, *siwič* with intrusive /i/, etc.

(d) In some words of general Western currency, it seems difficult to pinpoint the decisive influence of any particular language: *e.g., māšīn, list*. Obviously several foreign base-forms have contributed to the phonemic shape of a few words: *mixānīk, sāntigrēṭ*.

(e) Although most of the loans must have originally come in in their spoken form, the influence of the foreign orthography makes itself felt too. It seems to favor a pronunciation of postvocalic *r*, broad *a* values for 'a' (particularly before any *n*), a "Latin" value for 'u,' etc.: *e.g., mārč, plān, may* 'May,' *sanātōryum, switzərlenḍ, hālānd*.

(f) Some exceptional substitutions seem to be due to factors of internal distribution and association: *e.g., ṇ* in *-gaṇ*, /ē/ *in gēlās* (homonymous with *gēlās* 'cherry'), *āy* in *pāydal* 'pedal' (Per-

[5] Cf. also Qazi Rahimullah Khan, *The Modern Pushtu Instructor*, Vol. II (Peshawar, 1943), pp. 173 ff.: "Classified Vocabulary."

sian *pāy* 'foot'), /ā/ in *rāpōrṭ* (*rā-*, a common Pashto prefix).

3: MORPHEMIC FEATURES OF LOANWORDS

3.1. Parts of Speech among Loanwords

The great majority of Western loanwords in Pashto are substantives. Adjectives can be freely formed from them (see § 3.4b below), but few have been borrowed: *ḍabal, nōrmāl, pančar* 'punctured,' *singəl* 'single' (infrequent). No simple verbs appear among the loanwords. Some nominal forms combine with forms of *kawəl* 'to do,' *kēdəl* 'to become': *e.g., brōdḳāsṭ kawəm* 'I broadcast'; *sarwē kēẓī* '(it) is surveyed.' Very few loanwords appear as parts of compound verbs in *-awəl, -ēdəl* (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 88: class IV-A): *dzān nə kandidawī* (*Islāh*, December 13, 1958) 'he does not run' (*kāndid* (*kāndiḍ*) 'candidate'); *ṭup pančarēẓī* 'The tube is punctured.'[6]

3.2. Gender

The substantives that are Western loanwords are masculine or feminine according to the same conditions as native words. Any substantive designating a male living being or ending in a consonant (including *y* and *w*) is a masculine, and any substantive designating a female living being or ending in a vowel or stressed *əy* is a feminine. Pronouns, adjectives, certain verbal forms occurring with them in positions calling for agreement in gender take masculine or feminine endings. Thus *aksal, julāy, may, lisānsa, sāyins, sawiḍan* are masculines and *biṭrī, fākōlta, julāī, malārya, nārwē, lisa, rāḍiyō,* in some dialects also exceptionally *pəltən,* are feminines.[7]

3.3. Case and Plural Endings

(a) Arabic loanwords often retain their plural forms; *e.g., makātib* besides *maktabuna,* pl. of *maktab* 'school'; *mutaxasisīn* besides *mutaxasisān,* pl. of *mutaxasis* 'expert'; *tartībāt* besides *tartībuna,* pl. of *tartīb* 'preparation' (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 56). The substantives borrowed from Western languages, however, form their plural and case-forms like native Pashto substantives. Masculine substantives ending in a consonant form their plural by adding the morpheme *-'una* (*'unə*); those designating living male beings add *-'ān*: *tayruna, plānuna* but *mixānīkān, žūrnālistān*; *skālaršipuna* 'scholarships,' *skālaršipān* (E) holders of scholarships.' *-ān* occurs also, sometimes besides *-una,* as plural suffix in a number of words that designate inanimate objects: *ṭikisuna* and *ṭikisān, ṭupuna* and *ṭupān* 'tubes,' *sarwēsuna* and *sarwēsān* 'busses' (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 52.2b).

Feminine substantives take the same endings as native substantives with a corresponding shape (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 49.2b): *fābrīka,* pl. (and oblique sing.) *fābrīkē*; *lārī* (or *lārəy*), pl. *lārəy*; *tablō,* pl. *tablōgānē.*

In some Pashto dialects the oblique singular case differs from the direct singular case in some words by a change of *a* to *ə* (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 55.2): *ḍāktar,* obl. *ḍāktər*; *mōṭar,* obl. *mōṭər*; *pōḍar,* obl. *pōḍər.*

(b) Foreign nouns that designate some substance or material occur like native nouns only in the plural: *e.g., rābar* (*rābər*) 'rubber,' oblique case *rābə́rō*; *piṭról* 'gasoline,' obl. *piṭrólō*; *simiṭ, siminṭ* 'cement,' obl. *simíṭō, simínṭō* (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 63.3a, 5).

After numerals and some indefinite pronouns a plural form ending in weak-stressed *-a* occurs also with loanwords: *e.g., pindzə 'ṭana* '5 tons,' *yaw tsō bōtála* 'a few bottles' (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 63.1).

(c) A common substantive type contains loud-stressed *a* as the direct singular case morpheme, which is replaced by the suffix *-ē* in the oblique singular case and direct plural forms. Many loanwords were reshaped to conform to this type: *fābrīka, farānsa* (besides *farāns*) 'France,' *amrika* (and *amrikā*) and many French loanwords ending in final /ē/: *asāmbla* (F 'assemblée'), *aṭāša* (F 'attaché'), *kābina* (F 'cabinet'), *kališa* (F 'cliché'), *kōmiṭa* (F 'comité), *lēsa* (F 'lycée'), *lisānsa* (F 'licensé'), *prōža* (F 'projet').

The loud-stressed suffix *əy* appears also in the direct singular case: *lārəy* (besides *lārī*), *bagəy.*

3.4. Word-formation

(a) Compounded words are rare in Pashto; they are usually loans from Persian (*Grammar of Pashto,* § 67.1). Some Western substantives are compounded: *māšīngaṇ, mōṭarsaykal. pōstaxāna* 'post-office' is a rare hybrid formation; in Pesha-

[6] Cf. Herbert Penzl. "Afghan Descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) Verb," *JAOS,* LXXI (1951), 101 (§ 2.3).

[7] *Grammar of Pashto,* § 50; also Herbert Penzl, "Die Substantive des Paschto nach afghanischen Grammatiken," *ZDMG,* CII (1952), 54 f. ("Grammatisches Geschlecht").

war *jēlxāna* 'jail' is used. *'jita alwatáka* 'jet plane' (*Islāh*, November 27, 1958) is constructed like a phrase.

(b) The loud-stressed suffix *-ī* freely forms adjectives from Western loanwords: *e.g.*, *malāriāyī*, *kilōgrāmī*, *kaltōrī* 'cultural,' *talwēzyunī*, *ṭrāfikī*, *taxnīkī* 'technical,' *fēšənī* 'fashionable,' the compounded *tsalōrṭanī* 'of 4 tons' (*Islāh*, December 22, 1958).

A homonymous substantival suffix *-'ī* (*i*) forms actor and abstract substantives: *tilifūnī* (*təlipuni*) 'lineman,' *parāšuṭī* 'parachutist' and *fašistī* 'fascism,' *kəmōnisṭī* 'communism.'

4: Morphemic Variation among Loanwords

4.1. Causes and Types of Morphemic Variation

The amount of variation in the shape of Western loan-words is a striking feature that can be observed in speech and even in writing, between various idiolects and within one idiolect. We quoted above (§ 1) only some samples of the recorded variation among educated speakers (E, Sh, Gh).

This variation may with a certain regularity concern some particular phonemes or clusters of phonemes, *e.g.*, *ṭ* and *t*: *ṭayr*, *tayr*; *ī* and *i*: *māšīn*, *māšin*; *kil-* and *kl-* in *kilīnar* and *klīnar*. The alternation may involve the entire morpheme: *sētambar*, *sitambar*, *siptimbar*; an extreme case is *'sāyins*, *siyāns*. Sometimes the competing forms show a suppletive variation with little or no formal resemblance: *āstəriyā*, *ōtriš*.

The reasons for this variation can be found in dialectal differences of Pashto itself, perhaps supported by the interdialectal character of the standard orthography (§ 4.3), in the different foreign language models or different foreign pronunciation bases for the Pashto loans (§ 4.2), in the varying influence of the parallel loanword forms in Afghan Persian (§ 4.4), in the degrees and stages of adaptation after the adoption of the loanword (§ 4.5). Occasionally there is some influence from the foreign orthography (§ 2.4e above). These various factors, often a combination of several, can account for all of the variations found.

4.2. The Differing Foreign Models

(a) The contact of the Afghan intellectuals and elite with Western languages has been a decisive factor in the adoption of loanwords into Pashto. Prolonged stay in French-, English-, and German-speaking countries as well as foreign language instruction in Afghanistan itself has brought upperclass and educated Afghans in effective contact with Western languages. At the present time English is the main foreign language in the secondary schools of Kabul and the provinces, French is taught at Esteqlal High School, German at Nijat High School in Kabul. English is the most important foreign language at Afghanistan's only university, the University of Kabul, even though some French and German professors teach there with the help of interpreters. In Pakistan, where English is a compulsory subject in secondary schools and the language of administration and partly instruction in higher education, its influence on Pashto remains unchallenged.

It is clear that the contact and familiarity with one or more of the three Western languages known in Afghanistan has influenced speakers in their choice of loanword forms. The speakers who know English prefer the form based on English; speakers who know French or German, the forms based on French or German, etc. Different foreign model forms account for such variation as: *jərməni* (Engl. *Germany*) and *almān* (French *Allemagne*); *switzərlēnḍ* (Engl. *Switzerland*) and *səwīs* (French *Suisse*); *inglisī* (Engl. *English*) and *angrēzī* (French *anglais*); *aprēl* (German *April*) and, rarely, *'ēpril* (English *April*); *disāmbar* (French *décembre*) and *disimbar* (Engl. *December*); *'sāyins* (Engl. *science*) and *siāns* (French *science*); *mikrōfūn* (German *Mikrophon*, French *microphone*) and *māykrōfun* (Engl. *microphone*); *mōtarsāykal* (Engl. *motorcycle*) and *mōtarsikēl* (French *motocyclette*); *ḍāktar* (Engl. *doctor*) and, more elegantly, *duktūr* (French *docteur*, German *Doktor*); *muzyam* (Engl. *museum*, German *Museum*) and *muza*, *mōza* (French *musée*); *kultūr* (German *Kultur*) and, less frequently, *kalčar* (English *culture*).

(b) Sometimes the alternations seem to suggest different English pronunciation types as bases; *e.g.*, both the type with and and the type without postvocalic *r*: *rāpōṭ*, *rāpōrṭ* (*rāpōr* is from French *rapport*); *rikārḍ*, *rikāṭ* 'record' (noun), *spōṭ*, *spōrṭ* 'sport, athletics,' *kārk* (E) and *kāk* (Sh) 'cork.' For the variation between *gēr*, *gīr* see § 4.3b below.

4.3. Dialectal Variation and Loanwords

The variation due to multiple borrowing and found in idiolects of speakers of the same region

and class must not be confused with genuine dialectal differences. Western loanwords like other parts of the vocabulary show the phonemic pattern of the respective dialects.

(a) In the variation between the /p/ and the originally borrowed /f/ (§ 2.3c above), /f/ is preferred in a more formal style of speech and in writing: *afsar* and *awsar*, *fākōlta* and *pākōlta*, *təlifun* and *təlipun*.

(b) In those dialects of Pashto where /ī/ and /ū/ are mainly or only found in loanwords from Persian also Western loanwords show only /i/ and /u/ in colloquial speech: *māšīn* and *māšin*, *grūp* and *grup*. Lower allophones in some foreign pronunciation types may be responsible for an occasional rendering of English long high vowels by long Pashto mid vowels: *gīr* and *gēr*, *klīnar*, *kəlēnər* (Sh), *jūn* and *jōn*. The alternation between Pashto /ō/ and /u/ and /ē/ and /i/ respectively (for not fully stressed vowels) in loanwords in turn may partly correspond to a morphophonemic alternation between these vowels in some Pashto dialects, *e.g.*, in Kandahar (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 5.2, 6.2): *budija* and *bōdija*, *kumīṭa* and *kōmiṭa*, *tēləfun* and *tilifun*.

(c) Because of the distribution of the phonemes /ə/ and /a/ in their dialect, speakers of the Kandahar dialect often have /ə/ when others pronounce /a/: *səwiḍən* (Sh), *səwēḍan* (Gh); *pətlun* (Sh), *patlun* (E); *pōḍər* (Sh), *pōḍar* (E, Gh); *bəm* (Sh), *bam* (E).

Different allophonic variation of /ə/ and /i/ and different phonetic characteristics of /ā/ and /a/ in various Pashto dialects explain the variation in rendering foreign phonemes, particularly outside of the main stress: *girīs* and *gərīs*; *lisāns* and *ləsāns*; *pārāšuṭ*, *parāšūṭ*; *ātum*, *atum*; *kāmra*, *kamra*; *āgist*, *agasṭ*, *tāblō*, *tablō* (cf. § 2.4b above).

One reason why this interdialectal variation continues is the absence of a standard of pronunciation in Pashto and the character of the standard orthography, which cannot give status to one form in preference to another, since it does not express most of the distinctions involved with any consistency: /ə/ and /a/ are not written at all (*bəm*, *bam*); /i/ and /u/ can be written like /ī/ and /ū/ (*māšīn*, *māšin*); /ō/ is written like /u/ or /ū/ (*bōdija*, *budija*); /ē/ is not necessarily differentiated from /ī/ (*gēr*, *gīr*).[8]

[8] Cf. Herbert Penzl, "Orthography and Phonemes in Pashto (Afghan)," *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 74 f.

4.4. The Influence of Afghan Persian

A frequent type of variation is that between a form influenced by the Afghan Persian shape of the same Western loanword and one not, or less, influenced by it. It is not surprising to find that features of the speech of the Persian-speaking elite of Kabul have become models also for speakers of Pashto. Afghan Persian shows essentially the same loanwords as Pashto.[9]

(a) Afghan Persian, unlike Pashto, lacks most of the consonant clusters found in foreign words; thus it substitutes intrusive and prothetic vowels (§ 2.3d). The foreign base-form supports a rendering closer to Pashto phonemes: *baks*, *'bakəs*; *ḍrāma*, *ḍərāma*; *iskilēt*, *skilēṭ*; *prōgrām*, *pərōgərām*, *prōgirām*; *prōža*, *pərōža*; *spōrt*, *səpōrt*; *štōp*, *ištōp*.

(b) Pashto usually renders English /d/ and /t/ by /ḍ/ and /ṭ/ respectively (§ 2.3b above). The Persian forms with /d/ and /t/ for the foreign sound often appear as variants which some speakers actually prefer in writing: *ātum* (E), *āṭum* (Gh); *gārd* (E, Sh), *gārḍ* (Gh); *niktāyī*, *nikṭāyi*; *pudin*, *puḍin*; *rākit*, *rākiṭ*; *sīt*, *sīṭ*; *tōnal*, *ṭōnal*.

4.5. Adaptation and Readaptation of Loanwords

The process of adoption of new Western loanwords is continuing, and we can observe its correlation to the advance of technology and the spreading of new scientific information in Afghanistan. At first speakers who speak the Western language involved preserve in the adopted form more or less the phonemic shape of the foreign base-form. The adaptation to the phonemic pattern of Pashto follows after some colloquial use. The later morphemic shape may be influenced by the presence or absence of corresponding morphemes in Pashto (§§ 2.4, 3.3c). Then, however, speakers familiar with the foreign base-form and its meaning may tend to readapt any strong deviations from the foreign model to the source again. This "puristic" tendency may thus result in a variation between adapted and readapted (or recently adopted?) forms of loanwords. Examples are: *iksərīz* and

[9] The news stories in *Islāh* written in Persian and corresponding to Pashto items in the same issues reveal this. Cf. also Bogdanow, pp. 1-123 (see footnote 3 above); J. Christy Wilson, Jr., *An Introduction to Colloquial Kabul Persian* (Monterey, Calif.: Army Language School, n. d.).

iksrēz 'X-rays'; *farwarī* and *fibrōari, fibrwarī* 'February'; *sitimbar* and *siptimbar* 'September'; *māšīngaṇ* and *māšīngan* (Sh); *kalač* and *klač* (Gh) 'clutch'; *ištīring* and *štiring* 'steering-wheel'; *palak* and *plag* 'plus'; *studiyam* (influenced by *studiyō* 'studio') and *stāḍiyum, sṭēḍyam* (German *Stadion*, Engl. *stadium*).

5: The Characteristics of Loanwords (Summary)

5.1. Foreign Bases of Loanwords

We have established that Western loanwords have their original base-forms mostly in English, which predominates strikingly, *e.g.*, in the field of technology, particularly in its automotive branch (§ 1.6 above). Some of the vocabulary obviously came from British English: *banəṭ* 'hood,' *piṭrōl* 'gasoline,' *lārī* 'truck, lorry'; the pronunciation shows the same: *čāns* 'chance.' French terms in the fields of administration, politics (*pārəlmān*), education (*lisa*), cultural achievements (*tablō*) are frequent and reflect also the fact that most members of the Afghan royal family have had more contracts with France than with other Western countries. German-based terms are mostly technological: *fābrīka, mixānīk, taxnīk*, but also *kultūr* (§ 1 above).

(b) Pashto loanwords are almost exclusively based on the spoken foreign forms; there are really no purely literary loans in Pashto. This does not mean that in some instances the foreign orthography does not eventually exercise some influence on the specific shape of the borrowing (*e.g.*, *brōḍkāsṭ, rifərəndum*). (§ 2.4e above)

The foreign phonemes are represented by their closest equivalents among the Pashto phonemes, but the nonfinal position of the foreign word-stress is usually not imitated (§ 2.4a). Multiple rendering results from varying pronunciation types in the foreign language, particularly in English (§ 4.2b), and from phonetic and phonemic differences in the borrowing Pashto dialects (§ 4.3 above).

Occasionally the straight phonemic representation is combined with some grammatical remodeling (*kābina*, § 3.3c) or some unpredictable morphemic contamination (*māšīngaṇ*, § 2.4f). Sometimes base-forms from several languages seem to be combined in the Pashto reflex: *e.g.*, *mixānīk, mōtarsikēl, pōḍar, rāpōrṭ, sāntigrēṭ, stāḍiyum, ṭōnal*.

Some Pashto forms reflect only the first part of a foreign compound: *ištīring* 'steering-wheel,' *ṭayp* 'typewriter,' *mōṭar* 'motor-car' (see also § 3.4a), *ṭim* 'tin-can' (Engl. *tin*).

(c) There is often a semantic difference in denotation or range between the loanwords and their foreign base-forms: *e.g.*, *klīnar* 'driver's assistant,' *fēšən* 'dressing up,' *kēbal* 'telephone-exchange,' *ṭikis* 'ticket, postage stamp.' *sīṭ* 'seat,' *čēn* 'chain' refer only to motor-transport. *gilās* means only 'drinking-vessel.'

(d) It is obvious that the borrowing of foreign forms is always direct. There is no tendency to resort to loan-translation. Most of the foreign material cannot easily be imitated by native formations. In a few instances western loanwords compete with other Pashto forms: *bagəy* and *gāḍəy* 'tonga'; *kālar* besides *gāṛa* 'collar,' *kōṭ* and *bālāpōš* or *kurtəy* 'coat, overcoat'; *kēbəl* and *markaz* 'exchange.' *afsar* 'officer' has been replaced by *mansabdār* in Afghanistan.

The comparatively still small number of Western loanwords has kept them from puristic pressure, which Persian-Arabic loans have not completely escaped: *e.g.*, the official *ṣōwundzay* 'school' for *maktab*.

5.2. Phonemic and Morphemic Features of Loanwords

We have found that the Western loanwords in Pashto show no phonemic, morphemic, and syntactic characteristics that make them different from native words. The only phonemic feature not found in native words are the frequent clusters with /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ in English loans: /ḍ/ in *ḍrāma*, /ṭw/ in *ṭwāl* 'towel,' /sṭ/ in *sṭēj* 'stage' (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 24, 25).

Almost all Western loanwords are substantives (§ 3.1). Their morphology, *i.e.*, their case and plural formation, is like that of native words (§ 3.3 above). As to syntax, their gender classification (§3.2 above) and agreement in phrases and sentences offer no exceptional features. Formation of adjectives from nouns by means of the suffix -ʼī is frequent among loanwords (§ 3.4b).

5.3. Variation among Loanwords

Alternant forms differing in their morphemic shape in varying degrees are much more frequent

among loanwords than among the native vocabulary. This variation is only rarely to be called just regional and dialectical, *i.e.*, to be explained by the phonemic patterns of various Pashto dialects: *e.g., māšīn, māšin*; *afsar, awsar*; *pəlṭən* (Sh), *palṭan* (Gh). Most of the variation is a feature of idiolects and not regionally or socially determined. It may occur within the same idiolect as an alternation between a more formal and a more colloquial form, one preferred in writing, one in conversation. The basic reason for the alternations is not the different rendering of foreign phonemes in various dialects with different phonemic patterns, but four kinds of multiple borrowing: (1) from different foreign base-forms (*'sāyins* and *siyāns*, § 4.2a above); (2) from different spoken forms (dialect variants) of a foreign language (*spōṭ* and *spōrṭ*, § 4.2b); (3) also from parallel Afghan Persian loanword forms (*kilīnar* and *klīnar*, § 4.4); (4) from the source language at different times to readapt the loanword to its source (*sitimbar* and *siptimbar*, § 4.5). The influence of the foreign orthography may make itself also felt in the second and the fourth types of multiple borrowing.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Change: Eight Lectures on the I Ching (Bollingen Series LXII). By HELLMUT WILHELM. Translated from the German by CARY F. BAYNES. Pp. x + 111. New York: PANTHEON BOOKS, 1960.

The *I Ching* or *Book of Changes* is perhaps the most abstruse, structurally complex, and controversial of all the Chinese classics. In 1950 the Bollingen Foundation, with the invaluable aid of its excellent German-English translator, Mrs. Baynes, placed English-speaking students of China in its debt by bringing out a fine English version of the best European translation of the *I Ching*—that in German by the late Richard Wilhelm. (See this reviewer's review in *JAOS*, 70. 326-329.) Now the Foundation and Mrs. Baynes have increased our indebtedness by producing this English version of the brief but stimulating introduction to the *I Ching* by Wilhelm's son, Professor Hellmut Wilhelm, of the University of Washington. The lectures on which it is based were originally delivered to a small group of Germans living in Peking during the dark days of 1943; the following year they were published in book form in the same city. Save for a short preface newly added by the author, and the collating of its *I Ching* quotations with the Wilhelm-Baynes translation of that work, the present book remains unchanged from its German original.

Its eight lectures deal successively with the origins and general organization of the *I Ching*, its fundamental concept of change, the dualisms (above and below, heaven and earth, male and female, etc.) which figure prominently in it, the nature of its eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams, the significance of the two primary hexagrams Ch'ien and K'un, the contents of its later-added "wings" or appendices, the text's subsequent history from Han times onward, and its use as a book of divination. Though a fair amount of what is presented can already be found scattered through the pages of the elder Wilhelm's translation, it is good to have it combined here with the younger Wilhelm's own interpretations and added materials into a systematic exposition which is lucid, concise yet comprehensive, and very readable. For anyone wishing to enter into the spirit and *Weltanschauung* of one of China's most influential ancient texts, this little book is in many ways the best introduction available. Particularly good is its treatment of ideological matters, such as the above-mentioned concept of change.

Serious defects from the point of view of the scholar, however, are the book's disregard of modern scholarship on the *I Ching*, its failure to apply the techniques of textual criticism to its subject (it contains no Chinese characters), and its casual adumbration of generalizations as dubious as they are sweeping. One of many examples of the latter is the assertion (p. 25) that the concept of *t'ien*, heaven, goes as far back as the Hsia dynasty.

Of these defects, the most serious is the uncritical attitude toward the *I Ching* itself. Thus the traditional attributions of this text are for the most part accepted with only a perfunctory show of hesitation, e. g., that its basic core is the work of King Wen and that much of its later material (the "wings" or appendices) is by Confucius. On the latter point, for example, the author makes an initial bow to modern criticism when he writes (p. 12): "It can no longer be said with certainty whether any of the material—and if any, how much—comes from Confucius' own hand." Thereafter, however, he loses his caution and repeatedly states or implies the contrary opinion. On p. 67, for example, he says of the most important of the appendices (the *Hsi Tz'u Chuan*): "Much of this material is certainly from the mouth of Confucius."

In general, the author's approach to the classic is exegetical rather than severely analytical. Seemingly it is, in his eyes, an ancient body of wisdom made almost sacrosanct by the fact that it was created by men whose apprehension of reality was more direct and genuine than that vouchsafed to later more sophisticated humans. This reverential attitude (undoubtedly a legacy from the elder Wilhelm, in whose translation it is also prominent) appears in many paragraphs (pp. 9, 49, 97-98, etc.), notably that on p. 65, where we read:

> **It [the *I Ching*] is primary and immediate, not yet muddied by the sediment which periods of great intel-**

lectuality usually leave behind in the individual psyche. This is why the images coined are so illuminating and so generally valid. And, in order to make the Book of Changes out of those images, King Wen had only to formulate them and put them into an ordered system harmonizing with the rhythm of the cosmos. Nor had he far to go for this. The cosmos was not yet strange to him; it was not the subject of a specialized science; he lived in direct contact with its law of change. . . .

That Hellmut Wilhelm's present-day attitude toward the *I Ching* differs considerably from that held by him in 1944 emerges clearly from his recent article, "I-ching Oracles in the *Tso-chuan* and the *Kuo-yü*," *JAOS*, 79 (1959), 275-280. In this he offers a reconstruction of what he believes was the original form of the line texts of the first hexagram Ch'ien, deleting, for this purpose, what he believes to have been supplementary formulae added by diviners, as well as an interpolated commentary. The result is a reduction from the forty-two characters of the existing text (in which the six lines are of unequal length) to a text of only twenty characters, made convincing by its symmetry (two characters each for the first and sixth lines, and four each for the four intervening lines), and the fact that its lines rhyme. In the process he arrives at a new and unexpected solution to the problem of the original meaning of *ch'ien*, title of the hexagram. If, however, even the supposedly original corpus of the *I Ching* thus turns out to be an amalgam of diverse elements, what happens to the theory that, as it stands today, it represents a unified repository of cosmic truth?

Because of the many excellences in Professor Wilhelm's book, it is regrettable that he could not have revised this English edition to accord with his new thinking on this vital point, or, if this was not feasible, at least have indicated the general direction of his new thinking in the preface. Failing this, it is to be hoped that he will supplement the book with further publications along the lines of his article.

DERK BODDE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Altarmenische Grammatik. By HANS JENSEN. Pp. xv + 224. Heidelberg: CARL WINTER, UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG, 1959.

This new volume in the series of *Lehr- und Handbücher* of the *Indogermanische Bibliothek* shares the main characteristics of its predecessors (excepting such occasional ventures as H. Hirt's highly daring *Indogermanische Grammatik*)—a great mastery of the subject matter combined with a rigidly traditional approach. Hans Jensen has demonstrated his great competence in the Armenian field through a number of articles devoted primarily to the study of individual problems of syntax; his overall publication record testifies to an extraordinarily wide range of interests in the area of general and Indo-European linguistics. It is probably no exaggeration to state that no living Armenologist could have done a better job as far as compilation of material and data control are concerned, and as a very rich source of information (particularly on syntax, an area in which Meillet's Altarmenisches Elementarbuch was notably weak) this book will have lasting value.

Jensen states in his preface (p. v) that he wanted to write a new descriptive grammar which was to improve Meillet's work on the following points: (1) greater completeness in the inclusion of grammatical features; in particular, (2) greatest possible comprehensiveness in the presentation of syntax; (3) higher number of examples quoted; (4) more systematic organization of the grammar.

It seems that the author has fully succeeded in points (1)-(3); but (4) is a quite different matter.

Jensen writes (p. v): 'Das Armenische ist bekanntlich eine indogermanische Sprache, daher glaubte ich mit Recht, im allgemeinen die in den Grammatiken anderer indogermanischer Sprachen üblichen Schemata und Termini beibehalten zu dürfen.' In a nutshell, this describes very well the nature of this and other traditional Indo-European grammars—they are not descriptions of one particular language as an autonomous system organized in its own, particular way, they are rather what we would call contrastive grammars stating phenomena in the language to be described in terms of another language or, more precisely, of an abstraction derived from a number of other languages. The question asked in actual practice is then not: What do we find in Armenian?, but rather: What corresponds in Armenian to a certain facet of Graeco-Latino-Sanskrit? Categories and classifications grow out of this projection, and not out of observation; the fact that some quasi-

logical contrast does not find formal expression and therefore does not exist in the language investigated is overridden by the consideration that such a slot can be found in the matrix chosen for reference. To be sure, a contrastive study of languages can be highly useful (and it may even facilitate certain aspects of comparative work), but it should be preceded by proper descriptive analysis.

The fact that Jensen's book omits explicit references to the reconstructed development of a given feature from Proto-Indo-European to Armenian does not make it descriptive; it remains, in the ultimate analysis, a comparative study, only that the points of comparison are not stated outright, but have to be provided by the reader—which can hardly be considered an advantage. The constant projection of non-Armenian data leads to some serious shortcomings:

Normal features tend to be neglected, and the unusual is excessively emphasized. Statements like 'Über den Gebrauch des Indikativs ist wenig zu sagen, da er kaum Besonderes bietet' (p. 119) or 'Da diese Fragen im allgemeinen nichts Besonderes aufweisen, so brauchen keine Beispielsätze angeführt zu werden' (p. 192) are representative of this attitude.

Non-existing categories are treated at length. The dativus sympatheticus is first said not to exist (p. 155), but then the ways to express it are discussed. This is wrong from two points of view: first, this dative clearly is no universal category that would need to be commented upon at all; second, treating the supposed Armenian replacement forms (genitives or prepositional phrases) here means that they will not be found readily by a user of the grammar trying to analyse an Armenian text. The same disregard for the requirement that no category be posited that cannot be formally identified (and form really must be understood to embrace both morphology and distribution) can be found in other, even more obvious instances: A comparative as a well-defined formal entity does not exist; still, comparison is discussed as a phenomenon of morphology (p. 68-69). Gender as a selection category does not exist in Armenian; yet, we find it treated as though it were at least residually present (p. 47; sex and gender are confused). The grouping of conjunctional clauses is based throughout not on the overt formal material found in these clauses, but on semantic content as exemplified by translation.

In other points, the transfer of categories from attempts at the description of other languages leads to important omissions in the treatment of Armenian. The phrase, as a unit between word and clause, has never really taken hold in the Indo-Europeanist tradition. Yet, in treating the distribution of both the articles *-n, -d, -s* and the object marker *z-*, only a phrase concept (a term 'Wortgruppe' would seem to be adequate in German) seems to offer a way out of the apparent confusion—a phrase concept which would allow for a word being a minimal phrase and a relative construction being a phrasal bracketing of a clause.

It seems that at times Jensen is practicing such an analysis without making it explicit: this appears to be the only reasonable explanation for such a curious decision as to treat prepositional constructions in the *Lehre vom Wort*, a place where they clearly do not belong if morphology as the analysis of unitary word forms is the author's concern.

To sum up praise and objections: The book under review is immensely valuable as a collection of significant data from Classical Armenian. As a description, it violates basic principles and can, therefore, not be called satisfactory. It serves to underline once more what seems to be the outstanding need in Indo-European studies, the need to apply the genuinely important insights of modern descriptive practice and theory to the field which was the scene of the first triumphs of Linguistics as a science. To be sure, the quibbling and quarreling, the hairsplitting and mental acrobatics, all these Kinderkrankheiten of descriptive linguistics help to keep traditional linguists away from what they may tend to consider passing fancies; but in doing so, they deprive themselves of much that is thoroughly sound and solid in the theories and practices of the younger discipline. Promise of genuine progress in the study of Language seems to lie not in all-too-easy derision for the excessively newfangled or the excessively antiquated, but in a patient, circumspect, wise combination of what has proved to be good in the old and in the new.

In spite of the reservations one has to make against its theoretical basis, this is an important book. It will, therefore, be proper to proceed to a number of brief notes on points of detail. Misprints, of which some 40 were found, will be men-

tioned only if they create a real problem for the understanding of a passage. All references from here on are to paragraphs; Armenian and Greek forms have been transliterated.

The book is divided into five parts: Introduction (1-8), discussion of the script (9-20), phonology (21-56; with chapters on the sounds of Old Armenian, accentuation, 'Lautwandlungen,' i.e., morphophonemic changes), morphology (57-352; chapters on word formation and on inflection), syntax (353-587). The relative importance of the various sections is quite adequately illustrated by the number of paragraphs devoted to them.

The introduction gives bibliographical information and a few comments on the earliest history of Armenian and the Armenians; the time-honored, yet hardly proven Herodotean thesis of a close relationship with the Phrygians is reiterated.

The discussion of the writing system is concerned primarily with characteristics of modern printed editions of classical texts. (9) A note on the origin of the Armenian script surprisingly enough (cf. H. Jensen, *Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*², 411-419) fails to mention the (actually quite strong) possibility of an adaptation of Greek signs as the basis of the Armenian alphabet.—(13) Meillet's method of transliteration is not fully consistent—cf. *pʻ tʻ kʻ* vs. *ç č*.—(15b) There is little point in discussing *f* and *ō* in this context.

The treatment of the *Lehre von den Lauten* uses the term 'Phonem' once (21), apparently in the sense of *Lautvorstellung* and with questionable inferences. In general, no attempt is made to use graphic evidence to reconstruct features of phonology; rather, the interpretation of modern grammarians is taken over too readily (in particular, what appears to be recent developments from old *-y*-diphthongs (27) should not be projected back) I fail to see on what evidence the identifications ⟨o⟩ = [o] and ⟨ov⟩ = [ɔ] have been based (23).—(24.1) and (26) contradict each other.—(26a) Read: '3. vor dem letzten von 2 oder 3.' The evidence offered in this paragraph may point to absence of subphrasal junctures, with word boundary signaled exclusively by stress (but note 37).—(30) The comment that *pʻ tʻ kʻ* were not voiceless spirants seems justified for Classical Armenian; I prefer to retain my own hypothesis (*Language* 30, 1954, 199) for Proto-Armenian where it seems to remain the simplest way to explain the divergent developments from PIE *p t k*.—(32) What is the evidence for spirantic character of ⟨y⟩?—(38) The proposed converse of the vowel syncopation rule is wrong; *e* does not become *ea* under stress (cf. *berem* : *eber*). There is no need for any modified formulation if one only considers the 3rd sg. as the base form of the aorist set (247-248).—(42) The change in the stems of *kʻoyr, mayr* (47), etc., is not due to accent; the forms should therefore not be listed here. The same applies to the material in (48).—(49) Read: 'Stammauslautend..'.—(51) Read: 'eines *č* in *s* vor dem *ç* oder *j*' and '§§ 253 und ..'—(52) and (51) contradict each other in part.—(54) The process statement 'has been replaced by' is uncalled for and wrong.

In the discussion of noun composition, the statement (58) that the first member of a compound appears in the shape of the nom. sg., is acceptable; not so, however, the formulation in (63) that it is a nominative.—(58) Insert "Beter" after *aławtʻker*.—(59) Include a note on compounds with adverb, cf. (57).—(61) *tntes* (58) could also be included here.—(62) Read: '§§ 66 und 166.'—(65) Not semantic unity, but end inflection makes *elewmutkʻ*, etc., single words. Read: 'eine unbetonte.'—(67) Place commas after ".. vorbei" and "nehme."—(69) The proper analysis seems indeed to be '(noun + noun)-verbal suffixes' for all forms.—(80) Here and elsewhere (e.g., 107a) a sequence of two suffixes should have been recognized.—(87) *-akn* seems rather the second element of a compound.—(93) *-ani* appears to be a ghost: (*çorkʻ*)*otani* : *otn* = *akani* (107) : *akn*.—(102) and (172) contradict each other.—(108) should have been subdivided for easier reading.—(112) To state the morphological relationship between nouns and verbal stems or roots is not outside the realm of description.—(122) It is not unlikely that (77) is likewise made up of deverbative nouns (noun stem + denominative suffix = verb stem, verb stem + deverbative suffix = noun stem).—(127) Read: 'Dies kommt auch bei Numeralia vor, vgl. § 196.'—(137.3) Reference to (156) rather than to (145) is needed.—(137.4) Cross-reference with (152.2).—(141) Can be treated as a subclass of (b).—(142. 2) Subclass of (c).—(144) Insert in line 3: 'im Nominativ-Akkusativ.'—(144 beta) Read: 'Sg. N. A.,' do. in (145, 149).—(146) Refer to *akn* (149).—(155) Read: 'der A. L. *-ays, -eays,*

der G. D. Abl.'—(185) The Old Armenian translation evidently renders a Greek variant *en tôj prôtōj mēnì en dekátēj toû mēnós* which, in continuous writing, was truly ambiguous as to 10th (*en dekátēj*) or 11th (*hendekátēj*).—(194bb) Formally, we have identity with (193a).—(203) Read 'natürlich nur' in lieu of 'besonders'; cf. (198).—(223) 'bei Pronomen' is quite unintelligible to me.—(231.4) Examples concern only *ok'*—cf. (233)!—(232) 'Quantitative indefiniteness" is inadequate as a characterization of the function of *inč*—cf. *i tełwoj inč* (455).—(229) *imik'*, *imek'ē* are forms of **ik'*, not of *imn*; they go, therefore, into the gaps in (230). Cf. Meillet, *Esquisse*², 90.—(230) 'Sg.' and 'Pl.' have been wrongly inserted; the statement referring back to (229) is erroneous.—(245) *t'oł* is an imp. aor., and its use is quite regular. Delete passage after 'Joh. 20, 27,' delete 'l,' and change 'werden' to 'wird.'—(247-248) Cf. note (38).—(250, note 3) *ek* 'arrival' may have been abstracted from a compound like *ert'ewek* 'going back and forth,' which in turn may be based directly on the imperatives.—(253) Read: "fragt," 'dissimiliert,' '*gorcṭcic*.' To posit a subjunctive morph *-c-* (in contrast to what was stated in (243)) means to introduce a strange reversal of morpheme order in the 1st sg. (person before mode)—hardly a persuasive solution.—(267) and (391) contradict each other.—(278) Read: '*-c-*.'—(279) Read: 'auf *-eac*.'—(282) A new paragraph should follow the note.—(294) 'Zustand' is not an appropriate contrast to 'Einzelvorgang.'—(309) 'Ein Praesens historicum .. ist jedoch nicht häufig; auch ohne griech. Vorbild ist das Praes. hist. .. nicht selten.' Clearly the first is the more correct formulation.—(312) Replace 'sondern' with 'als.'—(314) *andr, ur* cannot be called underived adverbs; *andr* is listed correctly in (315).—(315) The suffix should be *-ti*, not *-i*.—(319, note 2) The reference to 'comparative' is ill-chosen.—(354-356) agrees in content very closely with (474-476, 494). Since (I) is supposed to treat the unexpanded nuclear sentence, (354-356) should be deleted as containing information to be presented later.—(371) Read: 'Besitzers.'—(378) Only the first example is pertinent.—(380) The final statement is not logical: how is the plural in the pred. noun to be explained?—(383) Read: 'Bei ..'—(384) Read: '.. im Numerus überein.'—(386) Formulate more precisely: 'nach solchen Verben, deren bedeutungsmässige Entsprechungen ..' Cf. also (402).—(388) 1. Reg. 2, 16 does not belong here.—(394) *zbaršaminay* is not an accusative.—(398) Are there any examples to the contrary to justify the formulation 'im allgemeinen'?—(403) Exchange 'noch' and 'nicht' in lines 7 and 8.—(406) 'schaden, zürnen, sich beschäftigen' et al. are not transitive in German.—(411 ff.) The entire section cc) (with the exception of the end of (414)) does not belong under 'b) Indirect Object.'—(412) Read '= *h.* + *z* + Akkusativ.' Supply '*h.* + *z* + Ablativ' after colon in line 7.—(413) The comment on the distribution of Greek *apó* and *pará* is not pertinent here.—(421) The paragraph is totally out of place; there is no antecedent for 'c).'—(433) The reference to Slavic is not specific enough.—(439) This paragraph is a striking example of an unfortunate organization of the text, which at times greatly impedes the efficient use of the book. 'entweder' in the first sentence finds its complement 'Oder' only two sentences and eight examples later.—(443) The title rather than the name of Christ seems to be meant in Mt. 26.68; note that Nestle (I have the 16th edition of the NT before me) reads uncapitalized *khristé*.—(448) The author seems to mean 'wenn es sich bei dem Genetiv um ..' The examples given hardly bear out the generalization offered.—(451) *yerkirn Israyēli* does not belong here.—(452) Two out of four examples contradict the rule given.—(453) The reference to (538) leads nowhere.—(454) Delete 'f.'—(455) Read: '(nur ... dasselbe).' *inč* is not inflected in Ezn. 23 and F.B. IV. 54 in contradiction to the author's statement.—(456) In the absence of adequate information no statement about relative frequency of subclasses of genitives in other IE languages can be anything but overly impressionistic.—(457, 459) The differentiation between the genitives represented by *hē kháris toû kuríou* on the one hand and *sophían toû aiônos* on the other seems artificial.—(468) should be included in (470).—(469) *karawt* requires reference to (467), too.—(470) Lc. 9.48 does not belong here.—(470, note) The content is the same as that of (172 end).—(472, note) belongs with (470).—(473) The identification of uninflected infinitive forms as nominatives is not convincing; functionally, accusative would seem much more appropriate, but in the absence of formal marking, 'nom.-acc.' would be most adequate.—(473.1) Ezn. 42 belongs with (473.2). The identifica-

tion of the *-oy*-forms as genitives is in contrast to (481) where the same forms are called datives.—(473.2) The last sentence belongs with (473.1).—(475) The examples Mt. 8.18 and Ezn. 117 should go to (476) where Mt. 8.18 has already been included and *t'oleal* in Ezn. 117 has its parallel in Mt. 13.36.—(478) A clear contrast to (479) is lacking. Under the present arrangement, *zardis* should go to (479).—(479) It seems better to classify *z-* as preposition in view of the absence of articles in the last examples and because of the parallelism with *i-* in Lc. 13.8. If so, (479) goes to 'd)' (489 ff.).—(482) The comment on the use of the Greek dative is not pertinent here. The statement about Greek accusative = Armenian instrumental reverses the proper order.—(484) The variants *i .. i* : Ø .. *i* : *i .. Ø* may reflect dissimilative processes.—(484, note) It seems quite impossible that anybody will be able to find *itelis telis* in this place. Parallel material is included in (127), but no cross reference exists.—(490) Delete 'vom' and 'begleiteten Substantiv.' *yayscanē* is not in the long form; F. B. IV. 24 should go to (489).—(495) The statement about comparative forms is misleading.—(497) F. B. IV. 20 is by no means clearly set off against the first category established by the author; moreover, I fail to see why in any of the examples of the second type given here the pairing of verbs should occur 'offensichtlich in verstärkendem Sinne.' The Agathangelos quotation should be inserted after Ezn. 253.—(506) There is no difference other than in a certain range of translation possibilities between 'Wunschsatz' (504) and 'Heischesatz' (506, 508).—(510) Ezn. 100 belongs with (511).—(512) According to criteria found in (303), the examples for deliberative question should be treated as containing future (cf. Joh. 18.11!).—(513) The footnote might seem to raise the question of borrowing; this, however, is not indicated in view of the much wider spread of the phenomenon.—(515) Parataxis is not a logical or semantic, but a formal phenomenon.—(517) I fail to see how any decision between 'denn' and 'weil' 'nur dem Sinne nach' should be possible, let alone how it should be 'sicher.'—(545) The example given seems to fall into the group of unreal statements described in (505).—(546) The examples for negative main clauses are out of place since subordinate clauses are under discussion.—(546) Read: '*gam.*'—564) Read: *hēmeîs.*—(581) The second sentence only confuses the reader; if it is to be kept, it should be relegated to a note.—Ezn. 130 is better placed in (577).

The notes given here clearly are of varied weight and consequence; it is hoped that they will be helpful in the study of a book that has its serious defects, but remains a valuable and most welcome tool for anybody interested in Armenian.

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Ibn Khaldûn: The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History. Translated from the Arabic by FRANZ ROSENTHAL, with introduction and notes; and a selected bibliography by Walter J. Fischel (vol. 3, pp. 485-512). 3 vols., pp. cxv + 481; xiv + 463; xi + 603; 15 plates. (Bollingen Series XLIII). New York: PANTHEON BOOKS, 1958.

The translation of Ibn Ḫaldūn's *Muqaddima* is an enormous undertaking for any one scholar; and few are the living scholars who alone could cope with it adequately. Ideally, we should have an Arabist thoroughly conversant with the Arabic of Ibn Ḫaldūn's period, in general, and with Ibn Ḫaldūn's own Arabic of the *Muqaddima*, in particular, including its technical and its idiomatic aspects. Our Arabist should be thoroughly conversant with the English language, preferably one whose native tongue is English, over which he exercises complete control in the choice of words and constructions. And finally, he should be competent enough to explain to the reader, in footnotes, that which cannot be sufficiently clarified in the translated text; explanations of a linguistic nature, as well as those requiring a certain amount of erudition brought to bear on the subjects treated in the original text.

An examination of the present work shows Professor Rosenthal as eminently qualified for the task under the last category, but as falling short of the mark under the former two. The principal merits of his work are to be found in the introduction to

the translation and in the annotation, both of which are of the highest quality. But the translation itself leaves much to be desired. It may be said for it that it is of value to the Arabic student who follows it under the guidance of a competent teacher, in those subjects of which the latter has an intimate knowledge.

But these merits of the work leave the general reader, for whom the translation was primarily intended, and who has no recourse to the original text, inadequately provided for. Aside from questionable renditions into English with which some Arabists will justly have cause to disagree, especially in those areas of their particular competence, the very presentation of the translated text, consciously or unconsciously, caters overmuch to the needs of the student at the expense of the general reader. There is a profusion of parentheses for which the latter has not the slightest use. Arabic is known for pronominal ambiguity, and it is the task of the translator to supply the nouns; but this is no reason for enclosing them in parentheses, the constant use of which is a recurring source of distraction. (Such a procedure was somewhat more acceptable in the translator's *A History of Muslim Historiography* where the translation and annotation of Saḫāwī's *I'lān* were primarily intended for the specialist.) The footnotes themselves, another source of distraction for the general reader, could have been placed at the end of the individual chapters, except those of a strictly linguistic nature, necessary for the understanding of the text.

Aside from these causes of distraction, the translation itself suffers from excessive "doctoring," consisting mainly in the chopping of Ibn Ḫaldūn's sentences into smaller independent units, even when they were perfectly capable of being rendered into English in their original length. While this, of itself, need not do violence to the scientific understanding of the original message, it overlooks the importance of preserving as much of the original literary flavor as the English language is capable of absorbing. The inevitable result is a text which, at best, is only remotely reminiscent of Ibn Ḫaldūn. The Arabist familiar with Ibn Ḫaldūn cannot fail to sense this alienation in spirit between text and translation.

De Slane's pioneering French translation was of benefit to Professor Rosenthal who mentions its merits as well as its defects. In point of accuracy, the present translation, far from having replaced that of de Slane, may rightly be considered as its complement. The next translator will thus have two complementary translations to guide him in his work. A good reason for a new translation is the forthcoming new edition of the original text of the *Muqaddima* by a leading specialist of Ibn Ḫaldūn, Dr. Muḥammad Tāwīt aṭ-Ṭanǧî. Thus the future translation will for the first time have the benefit of a critically established text, based on a study of all available manuscripts. It will also have the benefit of Dr. Rosenthal's valuable introduction and annotation.

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Oriental Despotism. A Comparative Study of Total Power. By KARL A. WITTFOGEL. Pp. xix + 556. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS (Third Printing), 1959.

Oriental Despotism, of which this is the third printing within the short span of two years, has been widely and extensively reviewed here and abroad by scholars of the Far East. The purpose of the present short note is to call attention to the fact that, although the main body of this massive sociological work deals primarily with China, it is of great interest also to students of the Ancient Near East. Babylonia was an irrigation culture and as such many aspects of its institutions—e. g., the centralized political power of the king, the universal draft of corvée labor for irrigation work, the economic role of slavery, and the place of private industry and commerce—exhibit remarkable similarities with those of hydraulic China. The author, professor of Chinese history and director of the Chinese History Project of the University of Washington, has an exceptional grasp and mastery of the pertinent sources of the Ancient Near East. His evaluation of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Syrian political, economic, and social data should prove of paramount importance to all those interested in the study of Ancient Near Eastern society. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this point.

In discussing the economic role of slaves in a society based largely on irrigation the author sets forth the following principle: "Soil, water, and plants are manipulated with great care by persons who profit personally from their labors: peasant members of village communities, owner-cultivators, and tenant farmers. But no such care can be expected from full slaves—that is, from persons, who, in addition to being personally unfree, possess neither family nor property. This is true for agrarian conditions generally, and it is especially true where the agronomy is largely determined by irrigation farming." The latest investigations of the part played by unfree labor in Babylonia bear out the correctness of this thesis. The mainstay and foundation of Ancient Near Eastern agriculture were the small independent landowners and the large mass of tenant farmers. The same held true in the field of industry where free artisans, often organized in guilds, dominated the entire market. The inexistence of large concentrations of slaves in areas of vital production also explains the absence of slave revolts in hydraulic societies. In analyzing the institution of landownership in a hydraulic state Wittfogel differentiates between government-managed land, government-regulated land, government-assigned land, and private holdings of land. The distinction between these various types of land holdings and their functions within the framework of irrigation cultures equally applies to ancient Babylonia and Egypt. The recently published royal archives from Ugarit and Alalakh in ancient Syria dealing with grants of land by the local kings to their state officials and particularly to the professional warrior class of the *maryannu* prove the validity of the author's approach not only in regard to hydraulic but also to societies based on rain culture. Students of the Ancient Near East will find *Oriental Despotism* highly stimulating and very much worth reading.

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The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak From 1841 to 1946. By STEVEN RUNCIMAN. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1960.

It is a far cry from the milieu of the medieval Middle East—Runciman's historical bailiwick—to the jungles of modern Borneo, but in this study Sir Steven makes the transition in time and area quite deftly. This volume is a study of the little state of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946 under the extraordinary personal rule of its white British Rajahs.

Written at the suggestion of the Sarawak government, the author had unfettered access to the relevant archives and made three trips to the country. Presumably this is now the most complete and authoritative study superseding S. Baring-Gould's and C. A. Bampfylde's *History of Sarawak* published in 1907. As Sir Steven, admits, however, this study cannot be regarded as definitive, especially for the decades of the twentieth century. There are still a number of unresolved questions, especially those relating to the final cession of Sarawak to the British Crown. The author's style is lucid, the narrative flows smoothly, enlivened here and there by a wry or humorous comment such as:

"The great advantage of the education traditionally given to the British Upper Classes is that anyone who has been through it knows that he is unlikely ever to be so miserably uncomfortable again."

This unique historical study is laid on the island of Borneo, a rugged and unhospitable land of dense forests, treacherous swamps, and warlike natives notorious for their predelection for head hunting. It was to this mysterious island that one, James Brooke, came in 1839. The son of a judge in the English East India Company, this young adventurer had entered the service of the Company at the age of sixteen and shortly thereafter had been seriously wounded in the First Burmese War.

Following the termination of this brief career in India, Brooke purchased a sailing vessel and voyaged to the South Seas. Visiting Borneo he found the local Sultan of Brunei hard pressed by rebellion. He was offered the rule of the area of Sarawak if he would help the Sultan. This was successfully done and in November 1841 James

Brooke was ceremoniously proclaimed Sultan of Sarawak. The youthful Rajah extirpated piracy, recruited a European staff, and established a system of courts. Devoting all his efforts to the protection and advancement of his subjects, the first ruler was completely uninterested in personal gain.

James Brooke died in 1868 to be succeeded by his nephew Charles. A period of peace and prosperity followed. In 1884 a French visitor reported that: "thirty Englishmen, no more, govern and administer the country, and that with only a few hundred native soldiers and policemen, and almost without written laws. A handful of men of a strange race is blindly obeyed by 300,000 Asiatics." Charles was an excellent administrator whose rule is evaluated by Runciman as "a superb example of enlightened despotism."

In 1917 Charles Vyner Brooke became the third Rajah. His father had warned him that when the first Brooke founded Sarawak he "never entertained the idea of thereby founding a family of Brookes to be European millionaires." The period between the two World Wars was serene and progressive. But by the time hostilities broke out it was apparent that the reigning Rajah had become tired of acting the part of the white man's burden. A new constitution was adopted in 1941 in which Brooke gave up his absolute powers and announced self-government as the goal.

Japanese occupation did not permit the constitution to be implemented. And with the coming of peace the Rajah decided that his dynasty should end: he was in poor health, he was on bad terms with his nephew and heir, and the British government was anxious to end what was considered by this time to be a political anomoly. Brooke announced his intention of ceding his state to Britain to his people in 1946. There was little local enthusiasm but the necessary approval was obtained by somewhat dubious means in the Sarawak Council. The author notes that the action was "hurriedly and clumsily handled." A repercussion of Sarawak dissatisfaction was the fatal stabbing of the British governor in 1949.

This agitation, however, ebbed away and modern bureaucratic colonial rule took the place of the old paternalism.

The author concludes with this tribute and obituary to the Brookes:

"The White Rajahs had their faults .... But their achievement was extraordinary. In an age when colonial methods were not always pretty, when the lust for power or for commercial gain too often dictated policy, they showed how a few Europeans could bring peace and contentment to a fierce and lawless country, with the good will and even the love of its peoples."

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India's North East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century. Editor, Verrier Elwin. Pp. xxv + 473. Oxford University Press, 1959.

Ethnographically and historically the North East Frontier of India still is little known. Verrier Elwin, noted anthropologist, author, and, more recently, advisor to the Indian government on tribes in the North East Frontier, has edited a collection of selections from writings of soldiers, explorers, missionaries, tea planters and administrators who traveled and worked in this remote part of India in the nineteenth century.

In all, twenty-six different authors are represented in selections which range from a paragraph to over 35 pages. The basis of selection, according to the editor, was to present materials which have a "bearing on the history, people and problems of what is now known as the North East Frontier Agency." The presentation is topical (Parts I, II, III) on geography of the area and scenery, a "bird's eye view" of the tribes and some of their customs, and tribal warfare in the nineteenth century. The remainder of the book is divided along ethnographic and geographic lines. The major peoples represented are Miris, Daflas, Apa Tanis, Abhors, Mishmis, Kamptis, Singphos, Akas, and Nagas.

The audience for which Elwin intended the work was scholars and administrators (p. xv). It loses considerable value for scholars because of the way in which it has been edited. The selections are made from the original source without running pagination from the source, or without even the

pages which the selection encompases being given. The only page references given are the beginning pages for each selection. If one should want to follow an author through the various selections made from him rather than following Elwin's topical cuttings of the author, there is no way of knowing what has been left out, or if you are reading the whole article or sections of the work quoted. Some of the selections are taken from records and other official documents, but there is no indication where these documents and records are to be found. Many names, places, and events are discussed or referred to in the texts, but there is no identification or explanation given by the editor to help the reader. There is no evaluation of the accuracy and validity of the ethnographic and historical speculation found in many of the selections in light of contemporary knowledge of the region. It is interesting and amusing to read accounts of the peopling of the hills on the basis of what a traveler knew about the situation in the 1840's, but it would be much more helpful if we had along with the account some indication of what is known about the problem today.

Elwin has always liked the picturesque and the exotic, and some of the selections would appear to have been included to amuse and intrigue as well as to inform the reader about the "history, people and problems" of the area.

Out of the twenty-six authors represented there are brief notes on nine, John Butler represented by 9 pages with text, T. T. Cooper (7 pages), E. T. Dalton (63 pages), J. Errol Gray (12 pages), William Griffith (4 pages), Father Krick (14 pages), J. F. Needham (19 pages), William Robinson (22 pages), R. Wilcox (27 pages). About A. Mackenzie, from whose *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal* fifty pages are excerpted, there is no discussion. This is lamentable as seven of the fourteen sections are introduced with Mackenzie's comments on the history of the tribes described. R. G. Woodthorpe, whose interesting reports from the topographic survey of India are represented by 22 pages, and S. E. Peel, who has 43 pages in the book, have neither biographies nor any critical evaluation of their work.

The idea behind the work under review is an excellent one. Elwin has brought together much valuable material on a little known part of the world. Historians and the anthropologists will be interested in the material, but a book which is interesting could have been an extremely valuable one, if there had been annotations and careful references and citations made.

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Trance in Bali. By JANE BELO. Pp. xiii + 284, 108 photographs. New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1960.

The author is concerned in this book to document, by detailed description drawn from intensive, systematic observations, a broad and representative sample of the greatly varied forms that trance takes across Balinese society. There is perhaps no other society so rich in diverse trance experience, and certainly no other society for which we have so comprehensive and detailed a record of the trance complex as the author presents here. The descriptive material for the most part consists of complete transcriptions, in clear, precise yet sensitive prose, of the ceremonials in which trance occurs. These are supplemented with records of interviews with participants on the ritual significance and subjective content of their trance experiences, and with more general observations on the character of particular individuals and communities. Frequently, field notes taken simultaneously by three or four observers are included in the transcriptions of ceremonials, as well as the timing to the minute of the sequence of action. In most cases, partial or complete cinematographic records were taken, together with a continuous sequence of still photographs, and these were analyzed before final transcription. The book itself is illustrated with a large sample of photographs, concentrating upon candid shots of performers in and out of trance.

In her Balinese field work, the author collaborated closely with Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson and has been deeply influenced in her field techniques and theoretical approach by the training received from them. In her earlier monographs (*Bali: Rangda and Barong*; *Bali: Temple*

Festival) she has used a more concrete, less analytical version of their approach to deal primarily with the social and ritual organization of temple ceremonial and its symbolic relations to patterns of nuclear kinship. In this work, she focuses upon the individual trancers to study the relations among (1) individual patterns of behavior in trance, (2) the community position of each of the principal trancers, and (3) their contrasting personalities in and out of trance. Within the analytical limits she sets herself, which preclude the use of any highly technical concepts (to the great pleasure of the reader), the author handles her material with much skill, relying upon plain but intensely detailed and precise description to carry her analytical points. This method of presentation yields widely useful data for ethnological studies, for inquiry into the nature of the trance state and its psychic correlates, and for studying the relation of the trance complex to the individual trancer and his culture.

For systematic treatment of the variations in Balinese trance action, the author arranges her material community by community, each community being a locality (sometimes a district, sometimes a village, sometimes a village ward) whose residents cooperate as a unit in the ceremonials featuring its principal trancers. By this means, the details on each trancer are presented in context with the form of the local community and the distinctive modes by which it exploits the trance experience. The communities themselves have been selected to permit representative coverage of the major trance modes present in the society. Analysis is excellent of these trance modes and their wider ritual setting, and of individual trance behavior and its correlates in personality and in psychic withdrawal. However, the analysis of community form as related to community variations in trance modes is thin and imprecise.

Throughout the work, the author is addressing herself, explicitly or implicitly, to two closely related problems: what relation does the behavior observed during trance bear to psychic states commonly diagnosed psychiatrically as pathological, and to what degree are those selected as trancers to be considered abnormal personalities. Various workers studying trance in several societies have struggled with these problems, and their conclusions have produced more dispute than light. In the introduction, the author summarizes some of their conclusions, in terms applicable to her material. Although to this reviewer, unfamiliar with the technicalities of the arguments, her discussion seems at points discontinuous and its relevancy obscure, she does establish a comparative frame for the descriptive material to follow. Her own conclusions for the most part are embedded within the text, shorn of obscuring technicalities, and supply impressive support for those who insist that trancing, even in its shamanistic aspect, need not involve only individuals with pathologically unstable personalities. The observations on trance behavior do not conflict with those recorded elsewhere, which show frequent replication in trance of behavior characteristic of pathological seizures. What her material makes clear, however, is that the trance behavior, the personality shifts in and out of trance, and the daily and ceremonial life of the community jointly allow the development of trance in a wide range of individuals most of whom, at least, lead normal ordinary lives. Her material, then, emphasizes the importance for trance in Bali of the symbolic realm of culture, not only in the patterning and configuration of trance elements, but also in the conditions yielding the high frequency of trance behavior among the members of the society. Passing beyond the author's own analysis, we may note that while Bali shares with Java an essentially identical physical environment, genetic pool, ecological base, gross size and distribution of social mass, and even numerous trance techniques, the contrast between trance in the two societies could scarcely be greater. In Java, the complex is limited to a very narrow social scope at a low level of social prestige, with relatively little ritual elaboration or significance. This position is clearly linked to the society's dominant social and mystical values, to which trance behavior runs sharply counter. Bali, indeed, is unique among the islands of the Sunda arc in its intensive exploitation of trance, and unique also in numerous other, as yet poorly understood cultural traits—caste, ritual uncleaniness, a distinctive kinship organization, enormous elaboration of temple ritual, etc. Hence, compared for example with the case in arctic societies, where the trance experience is also very frequent but distributed evenly over the whole region of the circumpolar zone, and where a radical physical environment is considered by most students to be a

major factor in the high frequency of trance, culture in Balinese society stands out with especial clarity and singleness in its relation to trance. The author's work must be considered a most valuable study for all those concerned with bringing the concept of culture into a more precise relation to the individual and his society.

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A Pearl to India. A Life of Roberto de Nobili. By VINCENT CRONIN. Pp. 268. New York: E. P. DUTTON AND CO., 1959.

This volume is a companion to that which Mr. Cronin wrote on the life of Matteo Ricci;[1] it contains a fine map along with several illustrations that serve to enhance the volume. In spite of a few misprints and a number of diacritical errors the book is well printed.

Although the book is primarily a biography of Nobili it is also a description of early Jesuit missionary activity in South India and also a discussion of the political 'time of troubles' that followed the demise of the Vijayanagar Empire after the battle of Talikota in 1565. The author has tried to utilize all the material available to him. Most important among his sources were the Annual Letters sent back to Rome by the Jesuit provinces and the letters of Nobili himself, some of which are preserved in the Sacred Heart College Library at Shembaganur, in the Palni Hills, Madurai district. In addition, Mr. Cronin made use of a large body of unpublished manuscript material pertaining to the Malabar Mission—mostly in Rome. Of course, considerable use was also made of secondary sources[2] such as the biography of Nobili by P. Dahmen and the work of Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The scholarly apparatus used in the volume is well handled and useful but it often appeared that there were important statements which were left entirely undocumented. In addition, in the course of the work there is a large amount of material which, it would seem, is entirely undocumentable and one comes away with the feeling that much of it was inferred from other sources. Certainly, there is not the material, for instance, to write a critical biography of Nobili as has been done for Ricci by Henri Bernard.[3] However, the volume serves to show how Jesuit Annual Letters can be used to reconstruct not only missionary history but also the history of India itself.[4]

The biography embodies a real understanding of the part that Nobili played in Portuguese missionary activity in India. It does not minimize the bigoted nature of much of the Dominican and Franciscan conversion techniques in India but seeks to bring out Nobili's genius as a great adapter, the son of the Renaissance, who could appreciate the subtle nuances of great Tamil and Sanskrit literature and whose broad horizons included a mastery of several languages which were to lie forgotten until they were described later by missionaries and Government officials during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The book describes well the brief, yet important, career of this man who, like Ricci in China, sought to bring about an understanding of a culture through adaptation.

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[1] Vincent Cronin, *The Wise Man from the West*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1955.

[2] One important secondary source which apparently did not catch the attention of the author is R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1924.

[3] R. P. Henri Bernard, *Le Père Matthieu Ricci et la Société Chinoise de Son Temps, 1552-1610*, Tientsin: Procure de la Mission Sienhsien, 1937.

[4] Cf. John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, A Study of the Nature and Development of the Jesuit Letters from India (1542-1773) and of their Value for Indian Historiography*, Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1955.

De protohistorische culturen van Voor-Indië en hun datering (*The proto-historical cultures of India and their chronology*). By J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW. Pp. 37. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1960.

This is the inaugural address of Professor van Lohuizen, appointed at the University of Amsterdam for Archaeology and Prehistory, Ancient History and History of Art of South and Southeast Asia. The address opens with a tribute paid to the Indian archaeologists who after Independence continued the traditions of hard work of the Archaeological Survey of India, initiated by pioneers such as Sir Alexander Cunningham and Dr. James Burgess. The present task is to construct a general picture on the basis of the very numerous new data. Professor van Lohuizen deals especially with the Copper Hoards, a sequence of 40 discoveries since 1822, consisting of more than 600 objects.

B. B. Lal, in 1951, proposed a typology of these objects in seven groups and arrived at the conclusion that the calcolithic culture of the Gangetic Basin was independent both of the Harappā culture and of the culture of the later invading Aryans. He suggested that the Copper Hoards were pre-Aryan and immediately preceded the Painted Grew Ware, which he attributed to the Aryans. Wheeler, on the other hand, considers (like Gordon) the Painted Grey Ware as chalcolithic and states that iron was only introduced at the time of the culture of the Northern Black Polished Ware. After a careful study of the reports van Lohuizen shows that iron is found at three excavations (Hastināpura, Ujjain and Alamgirpur) in the layers of the Painted Grey Ware. As iron and Painted Gray Ware have never been found together with copper hoards, this goes to show that Lal's relative chronology is acceptable.

The Copper Hoards are not typical of the Gangetic Basin as there are similar discoveries of chalcolithic cultures from many parts of India. As the West Indian hoards can be dated between the 19th and the 12th century B. C., the same date may be attributed to the Gangetic Copper Hoards. This forms a corroboration of the absolute dates suggested by Lal and is a line of reasoning independent of the controversy on the date of the Northern Black Polished Ware and the Painted Grey Ware. The fact that the calcolithic culture is earlier and is also found further South refutes Heine-Geldern's view that this culture was Aryan and corroborates Lal's suggestion that it was pre-Aryan. It seems then, that the Painted Grey Ware is indeed the oldest Aryan earthenware.

This leads to the conclusion that the fortresses of the Harappā culture were not conquered by the Aryans, but by pre-Aryan people who are related to the population of calcolithic settlements in the rest of India during the second millenium B. C. Wheeler's argument in favour of the Aryan conquest of the Harappā culture was based upon Vedic passages stating that the Aryans conquered fortifications and fortresses. Van Lohuizen had shown in 1957 that the cultures of Cemetery H, Jhukar and Bara seem to be related to the chalcolithic cultures of Central and Western India. As it is known that the users of the Cemetery H. earthenware reinstalled themselves in the Harappā citadels, it seems likely that the fortresses conquered by the Aryans were the fortresses which were patched up by the chalcolithic conquerors of Harappā.

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Haniwa: The Clay Sculpture of Protohistoric Japan. By FUMIO MIKI. English adaptation by R. A. MILLER. Pp. 160, 92 plates (12 in color), maps and figures in text. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: CHARLES E. TUTTLE Co., 1960.

A handsome volume on *haniwa* was published in 1958 by Mr. Fumio Miki of the National Museum in Tokyo. Based on this text, and drawing from other sources, but with his own presentation always uppermost, Roy Miller has written a book that will find immediate acceptance among a widening circle of collectors, museum workers, artists and less specialized readers searching for visual material or more information on prehistoric Japan. Miller explains this form of adapting in the Foreword, and in some respects, at least as he does it, there are obvious advantages. One is the benefit of Miller's style. Errors in the Japanese original have been corrected. But the extensive

list of locations where *haniwa* have been discovered was not included, and while it must have been assumed that westerners are content with less, I can see a decided loss in this regard. Whether the average western reader will use a list like that is hardly the question. I may raise a lone voice, but if one considers the fact that half a dozen books in Japanese on the *haniwa* have appeared in the past two or three years the question is far more whether as much as is reasonably possible should not be made available when the opportunity presents itself, particularly since this list could hardly have disturbed the publisher's criteria of readability.

The total impression of this volume is of a book beautifully produced, containing new and interesting photographs designed to do full justice to a representative group of *haniwa*. The color photographs are more satisfactory in the gray background. Numerous text figures are appropriately placed to enlighten the reader, but the paper is unfortunately a grade too cheap for both these and the print, and even under the most sober of circumstances the printed pages shimmy before the eyes. This might possibly be a by-product of the haste with which this volume was put together in order to capitalize on the new market created by interest shown in the exhibit of *haniwa* from the National Museum in Tokyo that has been making the rounds of American museums during 1960. As the catalog for that exhibition is all too brief, here is a fortunate and opportune addition.

Virtually all aspects of the *haniwa* are treated, the text flowing in and out of the subjects. One will find the facts on the tombs, an outline of the characteristics of *haniwa*, some remarks that touch on chronological and regional changes, and the beginnings of *haniwa* making as recorded in the early literature. This particular story is readily labeled as myth, as it should be, since it is so out of keeping with the archaeological situation. Inanimate objects are discussed, especially the significance of the house and the use of the cylinders, and the lion's share is logically enough devoted to all facets of the human figures, costumes and occupational types.

The Foreword describes the original text as a "happy balance between art and history," an achievement that is also rather well attained in this version. I find, however, that in emphasizing the artistic nature of the *haniwa* a certain perspective becomes obscure, the result coming out far too close to an art-for-art's-sake concept to be comfortable. I refer primarily to paragraphs on pages 25 and 26 where the elaborate arrangements of *haniwa* on the tombs are described. Abstracting is difficult here since the sentences are highly charged throughout: ". . . above all, the wish to give to the tumulus an imposing and majestic appearance must have been the principal motive . . . the Haniwa arrangements can best be thought of in terms of a calculated visual effect aimed at the person gazing at, or worshipping before, such tumuli from a considerable distance. These motives of external decoration and outward display . . . Religious motivation and sociological documentation are then all but lost sight of in an outburst of decorative enthusiasm, whose ultimate and sole object becomes more and more the eye of the beholder." This last passage may have been lost sight of by page 41, where it is stated that the "sculptures were to be viewed, if at all, at a considerable distance," here in reference to the simple techniques employed and the need to suggest rather than represent literally.

This twentieth century *raison d'être* is far from being realistic. Prestige and propaganda are a part of it, as at first implied, but there are many more complex and composite factors to be considered. Some of the figures have no obvious connection with the daily life of protohistoric times, and there had been no disposition toward personification of mythological personalities that might in any conceivable way have materialized in fanciful forms. Many if not most of these figures illustrate an array for special occasions, and in a sense an arrangement of *haniwa* is a repeat in clay format of much of the ritual and pomp associated with shrine-tomb cults. I assume the elaboration of the groups of *haniwa* reflects embellishments in the ritual, accompanying the increase in tomb size.

The question of visibility is an interesting one and mention might be made of a few of the practical factors involved. Quite properly it is said that the simple technique is a device to enhance visibility. It would appear that the artisans had little idea of (or concern for) the size of tomb for which they were making sculptures, and *haniwa* sizes tend to be regional and seem to have no clear correlation with tomb sizes. In fact, all the arts of this period illustrate no attempt to conform to a relative scale. Visibility across the three moats of Emperor Nintoku's grave would have been abso-

lutely nil under the most favorable of circumstances, yet no one would question the fact that this emperor built his tomb with little other object than to impress. It is doubtful whether the 20,000 cylinders lining its slopes would have been seen. Questions of visibility are more pertinent to small tombs, but small tombs have only rarely had elaborate arrangements of animate and inanimate *haniwa*. In the Kanto, where the tombs are medium to small size, the red loam, scooped from around to make the mound, would undoubtedly have formed the top layer, against which the *haniwa* must have simply blended, in spite of the striking visibility of their orange-red clay surfaces.

After fighting the vegetation of Japan archaeologically off and on for a decade, I lean more and more toward the idea that given a year or so these figures would have been swallowed up by the underbrush and would have had no more visibility than the Chinese funerary objects inside the tomb, even if there had been great corps of war-widows (as there probably were) periodically cutting down the undergrowth to the nub. An additional point to be made is that constant stress was placed on the symbolic value of the figures—and as symbols there was little reason to be realistic. Eventually realism did come about in the northern periphery, but certainly not in a way that was intended to bolster their visibility.

Comments on the dust jacket may not be inapt for an art book. Greater adherence to fact would have found a better word for "translated." In the midst of a profusion of excellent examples of the ubiquitous *chokkomon* in the Protohistoric period, even on some of the illustrated *haniwa*, to anyone versed in this material it is hardly appropriate to have the obsolete Jōmon period pattern, pleasant as it is, spun like a cobweb across the stage occupied by the two dancers. (Symbolic of the Miki-Miller team?) But the jacket is artistry, and few artists claim historical accuracy as a trademark. Let me sum up by saying, however, that my remarks are in no way intended to suggest that I am not pleased that such a book is now available. I should dispel all doubt. It is a valuable contribution to the accumulating literature in English on the prehistory of Japan.

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Śānti, A Contribution to Ancient Indian Religious Terminology I. Śānti in the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras. By Dirk Jan Hoens. Pp. xviii + 197. 's-Gravenhage, 1951.

This book originated in a broad plan for a semantic study of the words *śānti* and *prasāda* beginning with the Vedic Saṃhitās, covering the old Buddhist texts and extending to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* including the *Bhagavadgītā*. But because of the vast extent of the materials available, it was decided to publish the present monograph as a first instalment which by itself forms a whole by limiting the scope of the study to the term *śānti* and its cognates in the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras. As a framework for his study dealing principally with the *śrauta* ritual, the author has chosen the *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*; his choice was determined partly by the fact that there exists a translation and explanation of this text by W. Caland, the founder of the Utrecht school of Vedic studies of which the present work is a product, although it seems to have started as a thesis in divinity comparing certain religious terms in the Bhagavadgītā and the New Testament.

The main body of the work (pp. 1-177) consists of an elaborate collation of passages containing derivatives of the root *śam-*. In determining the connotations of the terms in question, use has also been made of the evidence provided by certain fixed formulae (e.g., *śānti, kḷpti pratiṣṭhā*, on which v. pp. 76, 103, 145, etc.) and by concordant passages containing a variant of the key term (cf., e.g., pp. 26-27, etc.; v. also p. 176). A chapter on some texts connected with the Atharvaveda and not immediately connected with the ritual is included along with another one on less characteristic passages or passages in which the key expression does not appear to be derived from the same root meaning. The bulk of the material is however arranged according to the different *śrauta* sacrifices, for the author states that the determination of the ritual destination—the Sitz im Kult—of the passages treated has been a guiding principle.

The last section of the book (pp. 177-187) con-

tains the Conclusions in which the meanings arrived at are briefly tabulated. The principal terms thus treated are: *śāmyati, śamayati, (a)śānta,* and *(a)śānti* together with the compounds *adhiśamayati* 'he appeases completely,' *upaśamayati* 'extinguish (a fire)'—a 'profane' meaning distinguished from the specialized one 'to perform a ceremony of appeasement' quoted once from GB; *niśamayati* 'conjure, appease' (in AV opposed to *ud-yu-* 'to excite, craze': p. 172) and *niśānta* 'come to appeasement' (with *spṛta-* 'released, saved': p. 128); and *saṃśāmyati* 'be extinguished (of fire),' a 'profane' meaning as against the specialized one 'to make peace (with someone)' (on this point the author, p. 11, differs from Eggeling's translation of ŚB).

In conformity with the double value of the suffix *-ti-* (noted by G. Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti- . . .* referred to on p. 8), *śānti* may denote either the action of √*śam-*, *i.e.*, appeasing, or the result, *i.e.*, appeasement, peace (cf. also pp. 108, 121 etc. on *śānti* = a means of appeasement and a ceremony of appeasement). Moreover, throughout this series of words, a semantic ambivalence is to be observed by virtue of which *śānti* may denote either the state of being free from (outside) danger or the state of being free from (inherent) danger (v. p. 8). Then *śānta-* has the meaning 'faustus, auspicious'; a thing that is *śānta-* is that from which evil powers are removed and which is hence able itself to ward off dangerous powers (cf. pp. 3, 22 etc.). The ambivalence which is reflected in this duality of meaning and which is to be conjured affects particularly the nature of Rudra (p. 59). *Śānti-* often enters into a stereotyped formula or cliché with *bheṣaja-* 'medicine': *śāntir vai bheṣajam āpaḥ* 'water is a means of appeasing and a medicine'; indeed, *śānti* and *bheṣaja* are so to speak the two forces that are produced at the end of the sacrifice (v. p. 12, etc.), and they are seen to relate to the sacrifice and the sacrificer respectively (v. p. 101). For the connexion with water (p. 4), compare also the term *śāntyudaka* (pp. 24 and 174).

An interesting example of the reciprocity or reversibility of a power—viz. the waters which are normally *śāntāḥ*—is given by TS which speaks of the waters in their unappeased (*aśānta*) state (p. 75). The author also finds evidence (p. 75) for the existence of a situation necessitating the crossing over of the waters without a dampening of the fire-of-consecration (*dīkṣā*) and therefore requiring the power of a certain ritual act and *yajus*. In this case then the purpose is non-extinguishing (*aśāntyai*; cf. p. 82-83); and H. accordingly corrects v. Schroeder's text of the KāṭhS and MS.

The ambivalence already noted in the case of *śānti* again comes clearly to the fore in the term *śāmyati* which may denote either that a dangerous power is appeased or that an entity reaches a state in which no evil can assail it; similarly, *śānta-* may refer to that the evil of which has been "conjured' and removed or to that which is free from the onslaught of evil. The results of this inviolability through appeasement/peace are found not only to affect the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) himself with his family and 'cattle' but also to extend as far as the king, his subjects and the cosmic order (v. p. 179).

A particularly remarkable semantic development appears in the verb *śāmyate* with the meaning 'he gets his quietus, is killed' which is current in the later Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas etc. (p. 30; cf. pp. 36, 39 for the denominative *śamāyate* 'he kills' and p. 36 for *śamitṛ-*).—It may be of interest to draw attention here to another development which is, *a priori* at least, not toally dissimilar and which is to be found in certain Tantrik texts in which the verb 'to free, deliver' (*muc-* etc.; Tib. *sgrol ba*) has the meaning: to despatch and liberate the spirit by removing it to a heavenly sphere, hence to kill ritually. A classic example of such a "liberation' has remained the case of the evil king of Tibet (*rgyal po sdig can*), Glaṅ dar ma (9th century), who because of his hostility to the cause of the Buddhist religion was ritually 'liberated' in such a manner by a 'liberator' who had first to develop particular compassion (*sñiṅ rje khyad par can*) for the king.[1] Now on the one hand it seems clear that this notion of deliverance and sublimation found in the Tantra with its reflection in the semantic history of the verb 'to free' is more complex and belongs to a more developed stage; it may

[1] It is to be noted that this notion of a ritual deliverance was associated with the killing of Glaṅ dar ma at least as early as the 14th century by Bu ston (*Chos 'byuṅ*, fol. 131a: *riṅ žig na yer pa'i lha ri sñiṅ po na lha luṅ dpal gyi rdo rje bsgom gyin yod pas tshor te btsan po la sñiṅ rje khyad par can skyes te . . . / . . . mda' btaṅ bas braṅ du phog ste / ṅa bdud ya bžer nag po bya ba yin rgyal po sdig can de ltar gsod pa yin zer nas bros so//*); cf. the *Nayatrayapradīpa* (quoted by E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism . . .* II [Heidelberg, 1932], p. 198, n. 1372).

besides have its origin in an expression such as *dehaṃ muc-* or *prāṇān muc-* 'to leave the body, give up the ghost.' A difference might also be observed for example in the case of the *paśubandha* sacrifice (cf. p. 47 f.) where it seems that no particular emphasis is put on the dissociation and liberation of a spiritual element from the gross part of the sacrificial victim, since there it is the animal as a whole that is appeased. On the other hand, the ritual background in the two groups of texts would seem to be at least comparable. And a parallel—*mutatis mutandis*—between the two developments may perhaps be found for instance in the references made to the sparing of the 'speech' (*vāc*: MS 3. 10. 1) and to the restoration and relief (*ā-pyā-*) of the vital airs (*prāṇāḥ*) of the sacrificial victim (cf. pp. 50-51 with 13-15). The process here is one of stilling the pain (*śucaṃ śam-*) of the *prāṇas* which results from the cruel (*krūra*) act of sacrifice. (Again, in the Vṛtra legend for example Vṛtra has to give up his power etc. (*māyā*) —which is the real sacrifice—before he is killed by Indra (TS 6. 5. 1. 1 f.); this situation is however open to more than one interpretation. There is also a reference to the faring into the sky (*antarikṣa*) for the sake of appeasement (*śāntyai*) of the omentum (*vapā*) that has been cut out (TS 1. 3. 90 and 6. 3. 9. 4).) It may also be recalled that *niśānta* and *spṛta* 'freed' appear together in TS and MS (p. 128). Another relevant usage is already to be noted in the Brāhmaṇas which use the causative verbal form *saṃjñāpayati* in the sense 'to cause (the sacrificial victim) to acquiesce,' *i. e.*, to kill it ritually. These meanings belong of course to the *ghora* part of the AV dealing with *abhicāra* (: *dgra las*) (cf. p. 30). In view of these connexions—though in the present state of our knowledge they are only tentative and *prima facie*—it is not certain whether this usage of certain derivatives of *śam-* can be merely termed euphemistic (p. 30); the evidence may rather point to its being a technical sense connected with precise ritual and sacrificial notions

The author in concluding emphasizes the connexion in many cases between the powers conjured in appeasement and heat and fire (cf. p. 4)—*tapas* (p. 186-87) or *tejas* (p. 82-83); but he considers it impossible to state definitely whether this is the oldest use of *śānti* etc. or whether those cases in which the process denoted by *śam-* is not associated with such attributes may be older (p. 187).

It might be noted that when translating etymologizing and paronomastic glosses in the Vedic texts such as *tac chamyāḥ śamītvam* (pp. 1, 22 etc.), instead of translating 'that is the *śamī*-character of the *śamī*, it would no doubt be clearer to render 'that [*i. e.*, the fact that the *śamī* branch appeases] is why the *śamī* is so called'; similarly p. 161 on the *ābhīka sāman*.—On p. 27, the translation 'your purifying figure, O Agni, to whom the cattle is dear' is surprising for the formula of VaikhŚS 1. 11 *yā te agne paśuṣu pavamānā priyā tanūr iti* (where H. reads *asi* for *iti* and takes *priya* + the loc. as = 'fond of'), as reference to Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* p. 780b would, I think, indicate. In view of the contexts would it not be preferable to translate 'that own clear-flowing form of thine, O Agni, amongst the cattle' or, with W. Caland (ApŚS 5. 13. 7 and 5. 16. 4), 'that clarifying form of thine, O Agni, which is dear to the cattle,' etc.?

The subject of the meanings and uses of *śānti* and its cognates was well worth a special study, for this term expresses a notion that figures prominently in the Indian religious and philosophical literature and has come to be felt to be fundamental in it (as the close of a well known poem of T. S. Eliot's for instance testifies). H. on occasion speaks in a perhaps rather general fashion of notions common to the 'primitive world' (p. 17) or drawn parallels with apparently similar phenomena from distant parts of the world (p. 187: Australia) which do not really throw light on the essence and structure and the characteristic processes of Vedic thought; but this painstaking and detailed treatment, provided with a Concordance of passages quoted, furnishes a valuable collation and analysis of this group of terms in the older Sanskrit texts. This monograph is thus a good example of the work of the Utrecht school which has given us so many valuable studies in the field of Vedic ritual and exegesis.

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Lehrgang der klassischen chinesischen Schriftsprache. By ERICH HAENISCH. Vols. I-IV. Vol. I: *Textband, vierte unveränderte Auflage.* Pp. 162. 1956. Vol. II: *Ergänzungsband zu Bd. I, vierte verbesserte Auflage.* Pp. x + 241. 1956. Vol. III: *Chrestomathie, dritte unveränderte Auflage.* Pp. vi + 289. 1956. Vol. IV: *Ergänzungsband zu Bd. III.* Pp. viii + 260. 1957. Leipzig: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 1957.

Haenisch's *Lehrgang* has been a long time in the making. The first edition of Vol. I was published in 1929, Vol. II in 1931, and Vol. III in 1933. Vol. IV did not appear till 1957, after several new editions of the previous volumes had come out.

The two first volumes were favorably received by Bernhard Karlgren in one of his rare book reviews (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* 1932, pp. 147-149) and by Walter Simon (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* 1931, pp. 2121-26). Several suggestions made by these eminent sinologists were followed up in later editions. The detailed review article by E. von Zach (*Deutsche Wacht,* 1931) also gave rise to certain revisions and to an extensive answer from Haenisch (*Asia Major,* 8 [1933], 538-561).

The *Lehrgang* is deliberately old-fashioned in the best tradition of German classical philology. It starts from the useful assumption that the Chinese written language is not a collection of "kabballistische Zeichen oder Ideogramme" whose combinations are to be solved like riddles, but on the contrary usually "eindeutig und kristallklar wie das Lateinische." It has a grammar and idioms of its own, the teaching of which should be approached in a well ordered, scholarly way, as in the case of any other classical language, say Latin. The student should read texts on less complicated topics before starting out on philosophy and mysticism, remembering that "kein Lateiner wird ohne Cicero und Tacitus." Also Haenisch is of the opinion, shared by the reviewer, that the classical written language must be learned without reference to the modern idioms.

From this point of view Haenisch's selection is excellent, and his translations and notes are illuminating and accurate. No young sinologist will regret working his way through them. In the German tradition the spoon feeding stage of language teaching lasts longer than in the Anglo-Saxon type institutions. After a semester or so our students will probably prefer to regard the Lehrgang as a supplement to his text reading, rather than as his basic introduction.

The chapter on bibliographical tools is surprisingly meager and quite haphazard. The student will have to turn to such excellent reference works as H. Franke's *Sinologie* and T. L. Yuan's *China in Western Literature.*

The chapters treating grammar, while useful as an introduction to Gabelentz (still indispensable!), are insufficient. But here it is hard to suggest a suitable substitute, since W. A. C. H. Dobson's recent study, *Late Archaic Chinese* (1959), may prove to be somewhat too theoretical in its approach for the student at this stage.

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Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen. Teil I, Vergleichende Lautlehre. By NICHOLAS POPPE. Porta Linguarum Orientalium, new series, vol. IV. Pp. xi + 188. Wiesbaden: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 1960.

The idea of an Altaic linguistic unity (indeed, of an Ural-Altaic super-stock) is not a new one: beginning with Schott and Winkler in the 1860's to 1880's, many persons advanced hypotheses which would unify the languages from Hungary to Japan, some even including other tongues of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The first work, however, to be conducted on a thoroughly tested scientific basis, as developed by the Indo-Europeanists, was that of Ramstedt, who knew several Mongolian and many Turkic languages quite well, and discovered countless instances of regular sound agreement between these families, thus laying the foundation for a comparative phonology and morphology of the Altaic stock. His important work, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* (Part II, *Formenlehre,* 1952; Part I, *Lautlehre,* 1957), gives a good introduction to the study of comparative Altaic, but suffers somewhat from being posthumously published in unrevised form.

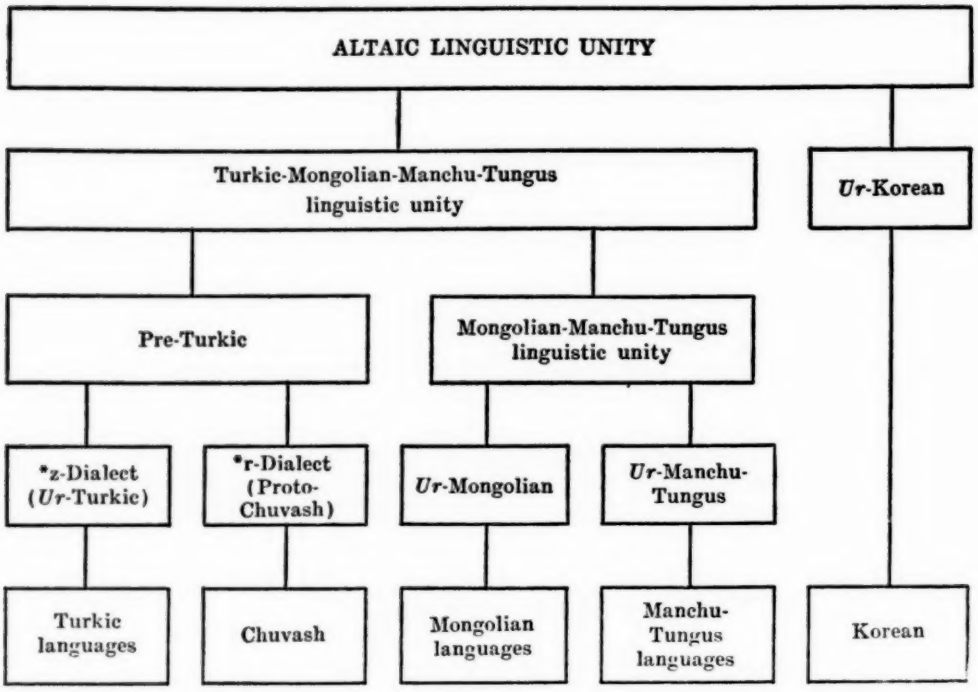
The Russian Mongolist Vladimirtsov also pursued studies in Comparative Altaic, which culminated in his *Comparative Grammar of Written Mongolian and the Khalkha-Mongolian Dialect* (in Russian, Leningrad, 1929).

Fortunately, the most able of Ramstedt's and Vladimirtsov's followers, Professor N. Poppe, had long been engaged independently in similar research, and published a number of articles in this field. His latest work is his *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki, 1957). In spite of its modest title, this work is a careful and thorough comparison of all Mongolian languages. Although Professor Poppe had been formulating the outlines of his system of Altaic phonology and morphology for many years, he as yet had given no comprehensive treatment of the topic in one volume. This is the gap that the volume under review fills. This has been made possible, in part, naturally, by the work of others, notably Räsänen's comparative Turkic grammar, the Tungus materials of Benzing and Tsintsius, Ramstedt's Altaic publications (although many of them are now quite old), and last but not least, the many studies of Mongolian and Turkic languages made by Poppe himself. Throughout his work, the author carefully cites the corresponding portions of these other major works, in addition to his own. These other publications are very valuable, but the work of Poppe is the only one that can really be called a comparative Altaic grammar, apart from that of Ramstedt. The author, as in the case of his modestly titled comparative Mongolian grammar, disclaims that his work is as advanced as Indo-European comparative research—no doubt many refinements will become possible in later years—but one doubts whether the general outlines of Altaic sound developments, as illustrated with ample evidence from many languages, will be much altered by later studies.

Although in reviewing the work, the present writer (being in part a student of the author) must compare himself to a high-school physics teacher who is asked to comment on Einstein's theory of Relativity, he will venture to give the work his unqualified endorsement. The work under review presents a very reasonable and carefully considered survey of the entire Altaic theory, and one in which everything is developed step by step. No one should remain unconvinced after studying it.

The author begins his work by stating that the chief task of his book is to show the affinity of Mongolian with Turkish and to bring in Manchu-Tungus and Korean data as necessary for substantiation. The work in general, as is not surprising, proceeds from the Mongolian point of view, since this is the author's forte. Opponents of the Altaic hypothesis or theory contend that the similarities between the constituent families may result from extensive mutual borrowings at different time-depths. The question is whether the many regular correspondences in sound and in morphological formation can be indicative of other than a genetic relationship. The author first points out that the Proto-Mongolian ancestor of Ancient Mongolian must have arisen from something—it took its vocabulary and grammar from some predecessor. Regardless of whether the words so taken are original with that proto-language, one need be concerned here only with the elements corresponding to them in the other member languages. Altaic is, it must be remembered, not a geographical term, but, like Indo-European, a term of relationship having geographical significance only in a general sense.

As in the case of the Indo-European languages, scholars once spoke of the splitting-off of language groups in the case of Altaic languages as well. Vladimirtsov believed that the Altaic proto-language first split into a Mongolian-Turkic group and a Manchu-Tungusic group, and later divided into proto-Mongol and proto-Turkic. Others have had other theories. The author holds the view that the Altaic material in Korean is closest to the Manchu-Tungus material, and that these languages in turn are closer to Mongolian than to Turkic. Thus, it seems most likely, as is confirmed by historical data, that the Koreans first separated from or otherwise lost contact with the Altaic linguistic community. The Manchu-Tungus-Turkic-Mongolian group then existed for quite some time before the Turkic group diverged. After another long period, the Manchu-Tungus group went its own way from the Mongolian group. Thus, in the present work, the data of individual Turkic or Mongolian languages are secondary to the oldest material from Mongolian and Turkic, in particular the Ancient Turkish runic inscriptions and reconstructed proto-Turkic, and Written Mongolian, *ḥP'ags-pa* inscriptions and Middle Mongolian in general. The final formulation of family division is therefore given by Poppe as follows:



The work under review is particularly interesting with regard to its treatment of Korean. It is here referred to cautiously as the Altaic substratum in Korean, and the author thus makes it possible for other investigation to reveal a different ultimate affinity for the Korean language. In view of this caution, it is not surprising that the author does not choose to mention the role that Japanese may play in the Altaic family. Granted that research is not well advanced in this topic, it still seems well-established that there is considerable common ground between Japanese and Korean, and hence, that there must be non-coincidental Altaic elements in Japanese. Japanese Altaic scholars and some others are pursuing research in this field. The crux of the matter lies perhaps in the fact that phonological and morphological material is rather scanty, but that syntactic correspondence is very great. As is well-known, Mongols consider Japanese to be quite easy, and whole pages (not to mention sentences) can be rendered word for word, morpheme for morpheme from one into the other. Countless idioms of Japanese and Mongolian parallel each other. The implications of this for genetic relationship have not as yet been exploited.

Although the work of Poppe is well-developed and reasonable in its approach, and it would appear that even the most skeptical could be convinced by such a rational presentation, not all persons yet believe that the Altaic theory is more than a theory (or some even say hypothesis). For instance, Turkologists, for the most part impressed with the numbers of Turkic languages which have *z* where Mongolian has *r*, refuse in general to believe that this *z* can be secondary, and point to the surviving Chuvash *r* as not original, but secondary. Still others do not question the existence of many valid correspondences, each backed by many examples and few exceptions, but query the entire principle of establishing sound-laws *à la* Junggrammatiker as being indicative of genetic relationship. That is, just because hundreds of examples of correspondences can be shown, this may not mean genetic relationship, but be due to a wholesale borrowing over hundreds of years of many, many words and entire word-classes, plus the borrowing of formative elements from language to language, as well as considerable influence in the matter of syntax, so that after centuries the relation, seemingly genetic, is in fact not so. This argument does not seem convincing when we consider that the correspondences are drawn from words for every class of object (body parts, nu-

merals, activities, cultural objects and utensils, flora and fauna, geographical features, etc.), and if we consider the tremendous disparities existing in vocabulary and grammatical structure between some present-day Indo-European languages.

The overall approach to sound correspondences does not seem to be different from that as advanced by Poppe in recent years, and in general agreed upon by Altaic researchers. Thus we find reaffirmed such well-known distinctive features as the facts that Common Altaic **y-*, *d-*, *n-*, *ǰ-* have coalesced in Turkic *y-* (Mo. *ǰiru-* 'draw, sketch'; Tk. *yaz-* 'to write'; Chuv.*śır-* id.; whence Hungarian *írni* 'to write' < **ńir-*), that two-syllable Mongolian words correspond to monosyllabic Turkic words (Mo. *boro* 'gray,' Tk. *boz* id.),[1] that the initial consonant **p-* has the following reflexes: Co. Al. **pulagān* 'red,' Mongour *fulān*, Manchu *fulgiyan*, Korean *pulgin*, Mong. *ula-γan* > *ulān*, and so on. This **p-* is the *h-* of Middle Mongolian texts, and corresponds to zero initially today (Monguor *fuguor*, Mo. *üker*, Turkic *üküz*, and even Hungarian *ökör* 'bull, ox').

The work is divided into the following sections. The Introduction (pp. 1-8) surveys briefly the history of Altaic investigation and outlines the principles under which the present work will proceed, and concludes with the table previously given. The author then treats the consonants (pp. 9-90), first those in initial position, with a separate discussion for the stops **p*, **t*, **k*; **b*, **d*, **g*; the affricates **č* and **ǰ*; the spirants **s* and **y*, and finally the nasals **m*, **n*, and **ń*. Each section devoted to a consonant is headed by a brief bibliography indicating the corresponding portions of other major works (Vladimirtsov's *Comparative Grammar*; Ramstedt's *Comparative Altaic*, Benzing's *Comparative Tungus*, Poppe's own articles on individual sound-changes) and of smaller articles dealing with isolated or limited changes. Examples for each change are given citing Mongolian (including dialects and later developments where appropriate), Turkic (both Ancient Turkish, Chuvash, Yakut and modern Turkic languages), Manchu-Tungus, including Goldi, Evenki, Lamut and others. In addition, the author occasionally brings in the further development of an Altaic word in, for instance, Hungarian, or in Slavic languages. The words are cited in the phonetic transcription customary for that particular language, as no unified system of Altaic transcription along phonemic lines as yet exists. Poppe's approach is phonemic in many instances, for example, when he states that Altaic **k* had the Proto-Mongolian conditioned allophones of **q* and **k* before given vowel phonemes (this allophonic distinction later becoming phonemic), or when he observes that accent in the Altaic languages is not phonemic because it does not distinguish utterances.

Pages 9-30 are devoted to initial consonants, and pp. 39-90 to the combined medial-final occurrences of consonants, treated in fashion similar to the above. A treatment of the vowels forms the second major portion of the work, occupying pp. 91-147, and including a discussion of accent and vowel harmony. There is, however, no mention of junctural phenomena. In the case of accent, the author discusses the situation lucidly, and displays his thorough familiarity with the literature, but, unlike the other instances, does not give full bibliographical coverage to this topic. It would have been certainly convenient to have in one place the titles and references to these articles on Turkish and Mongolian accentuation by Raquette, Collinder, Jarring, and especially that of Grønbech, whose name, in spite of his important article (*ZDMG*, 94 [1940], 375-390), is missing here. This cannot however be a criticism since the author states (p. 143) that he does not intend to list these works more fully. The final portions of the work are devoted to a summation of the chief characteristics of each of the linguistic groups making up the Altaic stock (pp. 153-158). This is followed by Indexes of forms (pp. 159-185) in the chief languages cited, and the work concludes with a brief Bibliography (pp. 186-188) of the most important works. Although it is not intended to be a complete list, one would surely expect to find such a work as K. Grønbech's *Der türkische Sprachbau*; and the use of Zakharov's old Manchu dictionary of 1875 is not supplemented by Erich Hauer's three volume *Handwörterbuch der Mandschu-Sprache* (Hauer's etymologizing is, admittedly, fanciful).

The work under review outstandingly exemplifies the "traditionalist" approach to comparative studies, and will be of great importance for the general future of Comparative Altaic, and also to

[1] Contrast this statement with the explanation of another researcher, opposed to the Altaic theory, that "Mongolian added a euphonic vowel to such words." (Poppe *Festschrift*, p. 37).

Ugrian studies, which may be aided in unifying the Ural-Altaic super-stock. The modern development of linguistic science, being a descriptive or structural one, does not consider studies of a comparative nature to be completely valid unless based on rigorously developed individual phonemic analyses of the constituent languages. As is well-known, such studies (except for the language of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, treated structurally by John C. Street) do not as yet exist, although some modern Turkic languages and Mongolian dialects have had a few structural studies made. This does not mean, however, that a work like the present one can be dismissed. Although phonemic analyses meeting modern requirements are still to be performed, the feeling remains that an ultimate comparative phonology based on such descriptivist works will differ but little in major outline from the work here reviewed. No doubt some phonemic refinements could be introduced into the transcriptions of some of the languages cited, but whether the entire grammar can be accused of being pervaded by a Graeco-Latin or Indo-European bias is rather unlikely.

One area in which structural linguistics could make a great contribution would be in the matter of unified transcription. With phonemic symbols, one can obviate the necessity for indication of phonetic quality, as Evenki *beje* or *heleke*, or the palatalization marks of the same language. In Dagur and Monguor, too, there are diacritical marks used for allophonic distinctions which could be eliminated in a phonemic approach. However, a structural approach also runs the danger of obscuring linguistic relationship by making it less apparent through use of a differing symbol. (The problem of the place of contemporary structural methods in Altaic studies needs an examination, and I shall venture to deal with the matter separately before too long.)

In conclusion, I evaluate this as a thorough and convincing, but still cautious and reasonable, work —one which can be wholeheartedly recommended as laying an indestructible foundation for comparative Altaic studies. Let us hope that the second part, to be devoted to the morphology, will soon appear, and if possible, be crowned by a comparative syntax, something as yet lacking even for better-known language stocks.

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Studies in the Saenaennorae: Old Korean Poetry. By PETER H. LEE. Serie Orientale Roma, XXII. Pp. 212. Appendices, bibliography, index. Roma: ISTITUTO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE, 1959.

Here we have the first comprehensive study in a Western language of the twenty-five Korean poems remaining from the Silla[a] Kingdom and early Koryŏ[b] Dynasty, heretofore known to us as *hyang-ga*[c]. This designation has been used for these poems ever since the middle of Silla "according to the *Zeitgeist* of the time" (p. 23). The author, however, apparently for reasons of nationalism, prefers the pure Korean *Saenaennorae* to the Sino-Korean *hyang-ga*. And, indeed, if we are now to redesignate *ŏnmun*[d], "the vulgar script" as *han-gŭl*, "Korean writing," there seems to be no reason why we should not now use *Saenaennorae*, if this change of nomenclature will in anyway assuage the sensibilities of our Korean friends or give added dignity to an ancient poetic tradition, which most certainly merits our attention.

The Chinese character *hyang*[e] has the meaning of village as opposed to the capital and has assumed a secondary meaning of "local" in such compounds as *hyang-sok*[f] "local customs" and *hyang-p'ung*[g] "local color." By extension it has come to mean "native" in *hyang-guk*[h] "native land" and *hyang-ŭm*[i] "native dialect." Hence *hyang-ga* may be translated as "rustic songs," i.e. Korean vernacular songs. *Saenae*, etymologically "eastern river," came to be used figuratively in the East, i.e. Korea, to mean "village," "locality" and "native place." Thus *saenae* was the pure Korean equivalent of *hyang* and the character *hyang* was used to transcribe the Korean word *saenae* (p. 23). *Saenaennorae*, then, has the same essential meaning as *hyang-ga* without the reinforcement of centuries of usage. One may possibly ask why Dr. Lee makes so much ado over this

particular problem of a name. It is because he sees a questionable distinction between *hyang-ga* and *Saenaennorae*. He uses "the original Korean word" "saenae" poems, or "Saenaennorae," following "a proposal made by Mr. Yang [Chu-dong[j], his mentor], which is just and recommendable" (p. 135). "The *Hyang-ga*, which means Korean poems, are," he says, "no more than transliterations of these songs in Chinese script." The word *hyang-ga*, which he obviously dislikes, he uses as little as possible thereafter, whether referring to an oral or a written version of the songs. Since all that remains to us of these twenty-five Korean vernacular verses are twenty-five songs, sometimes fragmentary and always in the Chinese script, the division between *Saenaennorae* and *hyang-ga* (with or without capitalization) seems to this observer to be picayune.

Although Dr. Lee claims to follow his teacher, Dean Yang of the Koryŏ University Graduate School, in his choice of the name *Saenaennorae*, it is clear from the quotation on pp. 182-183 that Yang has quite a different concept in mind when he says: "All the Silla poems *written* in the Korean language are *saenaennorae, saenaennorae* meaning 'Korean poetry,' our own native songs in contrast with foreign songs, Chinese poetry and music. The long poems of the Koryŏ dynasty are also *saenaennorae*. Any poem which is not written in Chinese following the Chinese verse-forms is *saenaennorae*." Lee accepts Yang's view that *saenaennorae* means Korean poetry in a broader sense (p. 183), but goes on to state that he has

> used this word to designate the name of a poetic genre in the Silla dynasty, the structure of which is unique in the entire range of Korean poetry. For want of any better term—because so far no other term has been substituted for the conventional designation "Hyang-ga"—and in order to differentiate the poems which were written during the Silla dynasty and recorded in *Idu* letters, I have used the word "Saenaennorae" as the name for the first polished genre of vernacular poetry in Korea. But in order to maintain the difference between the two usages, the word is capitalized when it refers to a poetic genre of Silla and not capitalized when it generally means "Korean poetry."

It would have been better if this explanation of the essential difference of meaning, peculiar to this author and depending upon capitalization of the romanized word, had appeared earlier than in Appendix III on p. 183. And it seems, under the circumstances, quite unwarranted to criticize Ogura Shimpei, who pioneered the study of this subject with his *Kyôka oyobi Rito no Kenkyû*[k] (1929), for "failing to see the relationship between 'Saenaennorae' and 'Hyang-ga'" (p. 36).

Be that as it may, the objective of Dr. Lee in preparing this, his doctoral dissertation at the University of München (1958), has been to deal with the historical, philological, and literary aspects of his subject. This is no small order, but Dr. Lee succeeds on all three fronts.

Chapter I is a history of the development of the earliest Korean poetry up to and including the *Saenaennorae*, primarily as reflected in Chinese sources. Dr. Lee shows much enthusiasm for old songs antedating the extant twenty-five *Saenaennorae*, most of which are known to us only by name and exist, if at all, only in Chinese translation. At the same time, he has amassed an imposing amount of evidence to substantiate his thesis that the *Saenaennorae* represented the "maturity of poetry" (p. 20) that "could not possibly have been produced unless the poetical art had been practiced for a long time and had had an artistic tradition." Although Dr. Lee shows us "how closely poetry was aligned to the daily life of the Silla people" (p. 120), he does not explain why so few examples remain (pp. 24-25).

Chapter II is essentially a criticism of Ogura's reconstruction and commentary in the light of the work of Yang, upon whom Dr. Lee leans heavily throughout for his philological interpretations.

Chapter III consists of the translations of the twenty-five poems with textual notes. The texts of the poems are those reconstructed by Yang and transcribed as far as the McCune-Reischauer system will allow. The notes carefully compare renderings of Ogura and Yang. The technique of giving first a literal translation marked off by hemistichs and then a more literary translation is very satisfying.

Chapter IV is at once the most interesting portion of the book and the most questionable. Here Dr. Lee, the litterateur, presents us with his "internal" analyses of the twenty-five poems. It is here that his enthusiasm for his subject sometimes carries him away. It is rather difficult, for example, to reconcile the dramatic exposé on pp. 108-111 to the patently simple verse as translated on p. 79. In spite of the inherent interest of the "Song of Ch'ŏyong[l]," it seems to this reviewer to be untrue to state flatly that "this poem is not a

document of Shamanism" and a mistake to exaggerate its merits as "a work of art" (p. 111). Also in the case of the poet-priest Kyunyŏ[m], the statement that his poems are for the "most part in Chinese, taken from Chinese translations of the Sūtras" (p. 120) seems to conflict with the boundless praise for his creativity found on p. 121.

Appendix I gives a translation of the *Kyunyŏ Chŏn*[n] with notes. Appendix II shows the comparative scansions of the *Saenaennorae* by Yang and Ogura. Appendix III gives several pertinent answers to questions concerning old Korean poetry by Professor Yang. Appendix IV gives a "Chronological Table of Old Korean Poetry" as compared with literary developments in China, Japan and World Literature. Herein Dr. Lee appears to accept uncritically the traditional date of 2332 B. C. for Tan-gun[o] (p. 184). Elsewhere (p. 4) he refers to the Tan-gun myth as "the oldest narrative literature the Koreans have," but nowhere does he explain just what literature, oral or written, he is referring to.

Dr. Lee states that "the Korean alphabet is not evolved from the Chinese as are the Japanese phonograms" (p. 27). Although the evolution of the *kana* was quite different from that of the *han-gŭl*, it would be well to note that Chinese influence was great in both cases. The Korean bilabial "m" [ ][p], for example, is nothing but the Chinese character for "mouth." And the fricative "s" [ ][q] is simply one tooth borrowed from the Chinese *ch'ih*[r], basically a pictograph of a mouthful of teeth.

Dr. Lee states that there was aside from Chinese characters no "other system of writing in Korea until 1446" (p. 27). This ignores the fact that Indian and Mongolian scripts were both known in Korea before that date. Dr. Lee himself notes on p. 138 that the Korean script was invented in 1443 and employed at King Sejong's[s] behest for nearly three years before its promulgation in 1446.

The author is to be congratulated for the fact that his work contains few of the romanization and diacritical mistakes that plague other writers on Korean subjects. Nevertheless, there are some: Okcho for Okchŏ (p. 5); Illyŏn for Iryŏn (p. 25 ff.).

The notes are voluminous and contain much information on the *hwarang*[t] and other subjects related to Korean cultural history that is not available elsewhere in English. Occasionally the references are not satisfying because the author, in attempting to be complete, gives exhaustive bibliographic notes instead of citations to the specific sources of his information. This material is none the less valuable as a tool for future study.

In summation, this volume, in spite of the problem of terminology and some minor errors, is perhaps the most scholarly work on any aspect of Korea yet to appear in a Western language. The author and publisher are to be highly commended.

JAMES HOYT

HIROSHIMA, JAPAN

GLOSSARY

a. 新羅
b. 高麗
c. 鄕歌
d. 諺文
e. 鄕
f. 鄕俗
g. 鄕風
h. 鄕國
i. 鄕音
j. 梁柱東
k. 小倉進平、鄕歌及び吏讀の研究
l. 處容
m. 均如
n. 均如傳
o. 檀君
p. 口
q. 人
r. 齒
s. 世宗
t. 花郎

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